PAUL CLEVELAND
on S. A. MOFFETT

CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE
DELIVERED BY DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE
UNITED STATES MISSION PAUL CLEVELAND
AT THE COMMEMORATIVE SERVICE
ON THE 100th ANNIVERSARY OF KOREAN AMERICAN RELATIONS

MAY 22, 1982

I was asked by your representative, Horace Underwood, to come here on this day of celebration to present a congratulatory message to the Christian Community for its contribution to Korea and to Korean American relations. I want to congratulate you first for chosing such an excellent "sandbagger" to approach me -- a "Changachi" I believe the expression is in the Korean language. On Wednesday, when he discovered the Ambassador had to be away and could not be here himself, Horace asked if I would be present as the Embassy's representative, and I said, "Of course." Not until Thursday did he secure the hook, "By the way," says he, "You are on the schedule to speak." And that took care of Saturday morning as well as Saturday afternoon. With salesmen like Horace, I now know why the Christian Church is thriving so well in Korea.

In ferreting among my books for inspiration as to what I might say, I came across a small pamphlet I have read more than once and which I commend to you if you have not. It was given me by Sam Moffet and it contains the letters of Sam's father just after Dr. Moffet Senior first arrived in Seoul in 1889. They were sent to Dr. Ellinwood of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

It was a wonderful find, for the lucid and calm intelligence of this young twenty-six year old man speaks to us from almost a hundred years ago as if the words were written yesterday. Moreover, with extraordinary clairvoyance they broach and illustrate many of the struggles and advances that were to preoccupy mission work and the Christian community throughout the intervening years and to make such a great contribution to Korea, to American understanding of Korea, and to the close Korean American relationship we know today. So drawing from Dr. Moffet's text for illustration, let me proceed with my congratulations.

I congratulate you first for recognizing and feeling such a deep need here among the Korean people, for providing hope and faith, at a time when there was little, up to the present day. Listen to Moffet Senior's first letter from Seoul to Ellinwood in 1889:

> "The people show lack of positive happiness ... they seem settled in submission to an unsatisfying life .... My first impression here is that the Koreans very greatly need the gospel."

Dr. Moffet goes on to ask for strength from God to fill this need, and as his life testifies, he received it.

His early letters are filled with references to orphanages, schools, medical work, to scholarship, translations and to music, and they describe the efforts, controversies and financial problems involved in these great contributions the Christian community has made here to understanding and development. In the first over-enthusiastic days, Moffet reports, so much was begun that the Presbyterian Mission could not handle it all. But the mission endured, as you all have, and you have prevailed. I congratulate you for these extraordinary contributions.

I congratulate you too on your determination and courage to press against obstacles. Courage is the hallmark of the Christian community's work in Korea, a country where the church has had a unique opportunity to ally with the aspirations of the people against oppresive dynastic, colonial and authorian rule. Dr. Moffet refers to this in March 1890:

> "Thus quietly the seed is sowed and we shall thus prepare a harvest to be reaped ... just as soon as we are allowed to carry on our work openly, without opposition either real or nominal .... our position here is not assured ... revolution might bring into power the man who twenty years ago had 20,000 Christians put to death."

I congratulate the women of the community, among them those who are missionaries and who have accompanied missionary husbands. In no field have women volunteered more or achieved more, particularly for fellow women. Listen to Moffet as his leader, Dr. Heron lay near death in the Spring of 1890:

> "I fear too that his removal might mean the return (to the United States) of Mrs. Heron, and we should feel her loss as keenly as that of the Doctor. Their house has been the house of all the new missionaries and almost all have boarded with them ... She has been doing important work among the women so that we will be sadly crippled if we lose her too."

I congratulate you on your early and continuing sensitivity to and faith in the greatness of the Korean people and for teaching other Americans, including diplomats, about them:

> "I believe," says Moffet, "there are great possibilities before this country. The people are intelligent and attractive and when once relieved from official extortion .... will develope into a strong people."

Moffet's perception, I might say, was more worthy of congratulations than his spelling. He spelled "develop" with an "e" on the end.

I congratulate you on engaging from early times in meaningful debate and for first implanting in the Korean heritage and then pursuing by your example the notion of open discourse. In July, 1890, Moffet did not want Dr. Horace Allen to be sent to Seoul and he wrote:

> "Dr. Allen has been engaged in politics ... If he comes here we immediately subject ourselves to the enmity of those who are very bitter toward him...Our aim must be to lay stress upon our spiritual mission."

Thus, he introduces early the vital dialogue regarding church and state which has, whatever the rights and wrongs of the arguments, stimulated more humane and enlightened development in this land.

For all these things then, I congratulate you: for providing faith, hope and good works, for your foresight and courage, and for your contribution to the search for truth. But there is one more service you are to be congratulated for, and for that, instead of Moffet, I draw from Aeschylus:

> "Pain that cannot forget
> falls drop by drop
> upon the heart
> until in our despair
> there comes wisdom
> through the awful grace
> of God."

In this land that has suffered pain and has a habit of not forgetting, I congratulate you for the wisdom you have brought us all through interpreting the word of God. And as a representative of a land where Christianity has meant so much, I thank you.

PAUL CLEVELAND
Deputy Chief of Mission
U.S. Embassy
Seoul, Korea.

Jong-Hyeng LEE, Samuel Austin Moffett, His Life + Work
Ph. D. dissertation, Union Th. Sem, VA, 1953

Evangelization of the people was
the aim of the mission,[1] the sole and only reason why the missionary was on the field and the one and only thing in which he was interested,[2] that is, the primary object of the missionary life. Therefore the first work to do on the mission field, he urged, was to preach the gospel and to establish the church in the "belief that the Gospel itself is the primary need of the heathen world."[3] He recognized education, literature, science, history, civilization, and philanthropy as secondary or side issues, saying that reformation was not redemption and education was not regeneration. "Educational work does not necessarily develop a Christian church. A Christian church necessarily develops Christian schools."[4] Moffett insisted that the institutional development should "succeed not precede the establishment of the church."[5] When the Board of Foreign Missions in New York approved of a plan to build a first-class medical plant in Seoul with a gift from Louis H. Severance, "capitalist and philanthropist" of Cleveland, Ohio,[6] Moffett opposed the plan because the large hospital would absorb money, energy, time, and interest from the home church

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[1] S. A. Moffett, "Prerequisites and Principles," p. 66.

[2] S. A. Moffett, "Policy and Methods," p. 237.

[3] S. A. Moffett, "Prerequisites and Principles," p. 68.

[4] S. A. Moffett to F. F. Ellinwood, 30 November 1901, PHS.

[5] S. A. Moffett to F. F. Ellinwood, 22 October 1900, PHS.

[6] The National Encyclopaedia of American Biography, Vol. XV, (New York: James T. White Co., 1916), pp. 357-359. For the story of securing the fund, read O. R. Avison, "Instances of Answered Prayers," Korea Mission Field 16 (February 1920): 29-32.

and the mission force and also from the Korean church. He saw it as an obstacle rather than as a help to the evangelization of Korea.[1]

Since the missionary was commissioned to evangelize, Moffett believed that the deep underlying convictions of the missionary had more influence than the methods adopted. He emphasized the convictions as the prerequisites upon which any methods of evangelization must be founded. In connection with these convictions, Moffett expounded five essential principles for evangelization.[2] The first was the cultivation and conservation of the conviction that "the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation and that God is able and willing to save any and all who come unto him." He believed the biggest hindrance to the evangelization was the lack of faith in the power of the gospel itself. The second was the determination of the missionary to make it the one chief interest, the all-absorbing task to preach the gospel and to bring it into contact with the people in the belief that the gospel could not fail to have its effect upon their hearts and lives. The third was the conviction that the spiritual advantages of Christianity were "THE advantages," not the material, financial, intellectual or political advantage. The fourth was a strong faith of the missionary, "a victorious enthusiastic faith in God and His message" that it could "transform character, lead to true repentance and hatred of sin, and give strength to the evangelization.[3] In

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[1]S. A. Moffett to F. F. Ellinwood, 6 April 1901, PHS.

[2]S. A. Moffett, "Policy and Methods," p. 238.

[3]S. A. Moffett, "Policy and Methods," p. 240; "Prerequisites, p. 66.

Jong-Hyeong Lee, Samuel Austin Moffett, His Life and Work
Ph.D. dissertation, Union Theol. Sem., VA, 1983.

faith Moffett expected great things in Korea. He did not expect "little Korea to become a great commercial nation such as China is or a great military power such as Japan has become," but he expected it to "become a great SPIRITUAL power, perhaps THE great spiritual power of the Far East," influencing the commercial and military powers of Japan, China, and Russia.[1] The fifth was the missionary's own spiritual life in reconciliation with God, in fellowship with Jesus Christ and in assurance of eternal life.

Describing five principles, Moffett summarized six methods he believed to be "the most important factors in the development of the evangelistic work"[2] in his Pyeongyang Station. The first method was the widespread preaching through informal conversation with individuals and small groups of people, through invitation of people to his "Sarang" or reception room for further conversation, and through invitation of hand-picked people from many different places. The second was the use of the Bible as "the supernatural agency of the Spirit of God for reaching the heart of men with God's authoritative claim upon them." The third was the catechumenate, where a man who decided to be a Christian was enrolled for systematic instruction and oversight to become connected with the church before baptism. Moffett looked upon this system as "one of the most effective methods and one of farreaching influences."[3]

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[1] S. A. Moffett, "Vision of the Foreign Field--Korea," Men and the Modern Missionary Enterprise, ed. by Charles E. Bradt, p. 50.

[2] S. A. Moffett, "Policy and Methods," p. 242.

[3] S. A. Moffett, "Evangelistic Work," Quarto Centennial Paper, p. 24.

The fourth was the infusion of a great evangelistic zeal into the first converts and into the whole church to develop the spirit of self-propagation. This spirit was developed into the "subscription of preaching days" later. At one Bible class in Sunchun, Moffett found that the men subscribed 2,200 days of preaching and then went about doing it. He exclaimed that the Korean Christians were doing evangelistic work and were bringing the converts to him faster than he was able to instruct and train them.[1] The fifth was Bible Study Training Classes. Moffett thought the system of these Bible classes and the Sabbath service in each church were two of the best methods for the development of the church as the evangelistic agency. The last method in the evangelization was the development of trained helpers, evangelists, and ministers, since Moffett believed that the complete evangelization of any land would be effected only through the agency of native evangelists and pastors. These principles and methods had been developed, tried, and proved by Moffett and his station; they considered them to be most effective in the evangelization of Korea.

1906 The regular furlough was an opportunity for the missionary "to preserve or restore health and energy" for the work on the field[2] and to advocate what he had done there and to increase the interest of the home churches in mission work. When the Moffetts left for America on their second furlough together on June 1, 1906, Samuel had many things to tell in America about the church he had led to the point of

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[1]S. A. Moffett, "Vision of the Foreign Field--Korea," p. 55.

[2]Manual of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, (New York: Board of Foreign Missions), 1927, p. 72.

organization. On the way to the United States they stopped in Hawaii for two weeks under the appointment of the Presbyterian Council in Korea. Moffett visited a number of plantations where Koreans were at work and investigated the conditions there with a view to learning the duty of the Presbyterian churches in Korea to their own men in Hawaii.[1] There had been "the American craze" among Koreans and students in the academy of Pyeongyang to work in plantations in Hawaii and to study in America with self-support. Moffett indicated that some of the brightest and best men in the academy had gone to San Francisco and Los Angeles and that a far larger number of less advanced students had gone to Hawaii. Under the Presbyterian policy of discouraging emigration for study or for work, they went under the oversight and direction of the Methodist church, which had adopted the policy of assisting them and encouraging them in their ambitions and plans for a western education and material advance. Moffett thought that when they returned to Korea to be qualified leaders they would transfer their allegiance to the Methodist Church. He asked the Board in New York to take steps for the oversight and care of their own Presbyterian people in order to keep them in the Presbyteian Church. He criticized the Presbyterian system as defective in the respect that they had no systematic provision for looking after scattered members.[2] He could not leave those Presbyterian Koreans in Hawaii and San Francisco who had been under his influence without

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[1]S. A. Moffett to A. J. Brown, 1 August 1906, PHS.

[2]S. A. Moffett to A. J. Brown, 20 October 1904, PHS.

Sam Moffett
Princeton, 1987

TO START A WORK

The Foundations of Protestant Mission in Korea (1884-1919)

MARTHA HUNTLEY

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF KOREA

SEOUL, KOREA

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CHAPTER IV

Murder of a Queen

1890—1895

In any contest between power and patience,
bet on patience.

--W.B. Prescott

Naturally he will try to take a part that will be to his advantage."[4]

Allen engaged in a little intrigue himself. For instance, when the King's interpreter came to ask his opinion on the French government's desire for a treaty clause that would guarantee religious liberty, Allen said he "thought it my duty to dwell at length with the subject, and after shunning the workings of Catholicism in China, Japan, Mexico, and Spain, I said the government would be under the power of the Pope...the Catholics worship and pray to Virgin Mary, mother of Christ, a woman.... Second, we think no one but God can forgive, but they give this honor to corrupt priests to whom all Catholics must confess their private thoughts....Third, the priests are men with the same organs and passions as other men. They are not eunuchs. And we claim it is not safe for women to go and confess to these men their secret thoughts and faults. This was a great argument with him and the whole conversation will doubtless produce its effect."[5] The French embassy went home without their religious liberty clause.[6]

In addition to advising the King, Allen pictured himself as a power broker. In the diary of his 1887 trip with the Korean embassy to the United States, he listed each of the 12 Korean members with a notation that he "had Min. Pak Chung-Yang made premier; one other I got appointed premier also and one went as ambassador to Japan at my suggestion," while a fourth "I had made governor of Seoul."

The missionaries also played an important role in keeping the public and especially the board at home aware of the Korean situation. "You are, as a fact, better informed (concerning politics and the overall situation in Korea) than our State Department man," wrote Allen to board secretary Franklin Ellinwood.[7] And it was true.

The other missionaries were also consulted on matters other than health and religion. The personal element should never be underestimated in Korean affairs, and the King and Queen gave every indication of liking and respecting the young Americans.

An instance often cited of the personal interest taken by the royal family in the missionaries is the 1887 ice-skating party held at the palace. According to Korean journalist Yi Kyu-Tae, Koreans were curious about all the activities of the

Westerners, but "one completely new to them was ice skating. When the Western missionaries went skating near East Gate, people would pay for space from which to watch them and food vendors congregated to sell their wares to the crowd. The ice skating was christened 'art of ice' or 'art of foot' by the scholars while the common people called it 'Western foot show.'"[8] Horace Allen was a particular favorite with the spectators; though he was a skillful skater, the audience were more impressed with the sight of his balding dome and red hair revealed when his hat would blow off.[9]

When the Queen heard the Westerners had shoes which permitted them to walk and glide on ice, she wanted to see this marvel and a group of foreigners was invited to skate on the royal lake, while the King and Queen watched from a pavilion in the middle of the pond.

From the beginning King Kojong had tended to trust America, to exempt it from the growing number of imperialistic nations eager to take over his Kingdom. A diplomatic historian has noted that "not only Foote and Foulk, but other American diplomatic agents who succeeded them at the American Legation in Seoul from 1887 to 1905 were all very active diplomats and played far more prominent roles than their government desired them to."[10] Minister Hugh Dinsmore gave the reason for this in a letter to Secretary of State Bayard on June 25, 1887, "I am almost every day approached for advice which under my plain duty I cannot give. Yet it is utterly impossible for a true American to remain with these people and not become to a degree personally interested in their troubles and natural desire for home rule and for the development of their country."[11]

Yet there were a number of influential men strongly opposed to Western ideas, among them Yuan Shih-Kai and the Taewongun. After the 1884 incident, Yuan had gone to China, but he returned to Korea on October 3, 1885, as successor to Chen Shu-Tang, taking charge of Chinese diplomatic and commercial affairs on November 16. As "Director-General Resident in Korea of Diplomatic and Commercial Relations," he was for the next 10 years the embodiment of Chinese influence.[12]

In September 1886 Yuan memorialized the King that he, as China's representative, was against the erection of a mint, Horace Allen's government hospital, the establishment of a modern model farm, the purchase of modern steamers, and the reorganization

of the Korean army.[13] The 1887 embassy to America which Allen accompanied as secretary departed very much against Yuan's wishes and was delayed for several months by his opposition; in 1890 the first Korean embassy to Europe got no further than Hong Kong because of his contravention.

American Minister Dinsmore described Yuan's machinations when he wrote Secretary of State that he "memorializes, provides, dictates, and directs, all under a system of intimidation mixed with an affectation of disinterested kindness."[14] It was believed to be Yuan's agents who spread the rumors, many imported directly from the Dragon Empire, resulting in the 1888 Baby Riots.

The Taewongun had returned from China with Yuan in October 1885. During these years he resembled a spider, calmly weaving and re-weaving its web, waiting for something major to happen. Yet he could exert considerable charm when he wanted to. On October 10, 1885, Horace Allen paid him a call: "I had the honor of an audience with the Tywankhun Royal Father. He received me kindly, kept me for nearly an hour and held my hands most of the time. He knew me through Min Yong-Ik, and asked me to give him medicine to make him live long." The next day, "to the surprise of everyone, he called on me and honored the mission compound with his presence. He has learned enough of foreigners to renounce his hate for them and now protests that all Americans are good. I think him a man of strong will and convictions, honest in purpose, determined, yet with a vein of kindness back of it all which if one can strike will make him a firm friend. If he sanctions the missionary work the field will be ours."[15]

Although the wily old Taewongun could be perfectly charming, whenever there was a plot afoot to take the throne from Kojong and Queen Min, the ex-regent seemed to be involved. Thus, in April 1889 Heron wrote Ellinwood, "Apparently we are on the eve of political changes. The Ex-Regent who has not been in the Palace for more than three years has been called in and appointed one of the King's Chief Counsellors. Rumors from the Chinese Legation are that the King is to be removed and ex-regent made King in his place."[16]

Because of the disquieting rumors, Heron urged the missionaries to act more circumspectly. The mission, in the absence of the honeymooning Underwoods, "in view of all these things, have decided to have the native church meet elsewhere than in front

of the Underwood house, to cease singing at their services, not to write letters which could be published which show the government we are completely disregarding their order sent through the U.S. Minister to cease teaching Christianity and opening schools."[17]

All the American representatives held gradualist views. When William Parker had first arrived in Seoul, the missionaries had decided to build a church for foreigners as a preliminary step in constructing Korean churches. Parker advised against taking such a step, offering the use of his office for Sunday worship. He informed the Korean government of the meetings, but met with no objection. W.W. Rockhill, who followed Parker in December 1886 (with Foulk filling the three-month interim) believed that evangelical work in Korea was "premature and dangerous." Hugh Dinsmore, Minister from March 1887 to May 1890, felt it imperative for the missionaries to proceed with caution. The evangelistic missionaries began to feel the real opposition to their work was not from the Korean government, but from the American legation. There is no record that the Korean King, who was pleased with the educational and medical work of the missionaries, ever opposed their evangelistic efforts.[18]

Nonetheless, after the prohibition of religious teaching and the Baby Riots, the boards at home were so seriously concerned for the outlook of work in Korea that the Methodists considered transferring all their missionary personnel to other fields. Appenzeller wrote in January 1889 that "The wild rumors of last summer showed one thing I was glad to see. The King stated in his proclamation that foreigners were not cannibals and that rumors to that effect must stop, and they did. It shows the power of the King. The King is progressive, he is for opening Korea, and as long as he is on the throne we have nothing to fear from the 'political situation'....I am working openly <u>as a missionary</u>, preaching twice in Korean on Sundays and Sunday school, we have a well attended regular prayer meeting, the school opens daily with religious services and a number of students have asked to be baptized and are studying the Bible. High officials call. The 'course to be pursued?' Keep on exactly in the line we are. The doors of Korea are opened. We have entered."[19]

Entered, yes; conquered, no. Mrs. Mary Scranton wrote that suddenly in February 1889, "we were again forbidden to speak at all or teach in the name of Jesus....We obeyed in part. That is, we discontinued public teaching, but continued the services

with our women and girls as usual. We told the outside women they must not come any more." One woman came anyway, hiding in a corner in order to participate in the worship service. When she was discovered, she said, "There is only a little rice at our house and not much wood and living is very difficult. Coming here and listening to the good words and sweet songs makes my heart lighter. Won't you please let me come every Sunday?"

Mrs. Scranton wrote, "I assure you it was not an easy matter under such circumstances to obey 'the powers that be,' but it was not many months before we forgot all about 'laws' and found ourselves at work in evangelistic lines with more energy than ever before."[20] Actually, it was in the fall of 1889, after both Protestant mission boards sent secretaries to Korea who saw the work and had long, impassioned interviews with all the missionaries and legation people it was concluded that evangelistic work should be able to advance freely.

In April 1889 Heron wrote in a worried letter that "Many things just now are favorable for the development of trouble. First the famine in the South, the scarcity of rice and its high price; secondly, the scarcity of money; third, the fact that the King is in debt to foreigners and has stated that they must first be paid before the officials get any money. Part of the soldiers have not had any rice for four months. The hospital has not had any money for three months and can't get any."[21]

The same climate of poverty, fear, and insecurity had resulted at mid-century in Choe Che-U's founding what came to be called the Chondogyo, or Heavenly Way.[22] Although he had been executed in 1864, he left handwritten copies of poems and essays, a rudimentary organization of local leaders, and a few hundred followers. For 30 years, his successor Choe Si-Hyong and other followers carried on the faith underground, meeting quietly to celebrate various rites, moving from the home of one believer to the next, eluding the authorities and transmitting Chondogyo teachings. In 1888, when Choe Che-U's writings were published as the Chondogyo bible, the Tong Kyong Tai Chon, his influence began to spread. Until this time, Chondogyo was a gentle religion, a "melange of magic, mysticism and neo-Confucianism," exhorting homely virtues and wholesome living.[23] Its most revolutionary element was Choe's teaching that "all men are equal under heaven;" which Choe Si-Hyong carried further: "Man is heaven and all are equal; there are no differences among men, so distinctions of high and low violate God's will."[24] Tonghak egalitarianism had

its root in these teachings, but was not central to the movement until the 1880s, when popular resentment against yangban privilege welled up and overflowed into rebellion.

At this time the administration of the government was anything but exemplary. The selling of the same office at short intervals increased the burden on the people to an almost unbearable point. "History shows," wrote Homer Hulbert, "that when the Korean people are treated with anything like a fair degree of justice they are loyal and peaceful. So long as the Korean is called upon to pay not more than three or four times the legal rate of tax he will endure it quietly and there will be no talk of seditious sects arising; but the people are well aware that they themselves form the court of final appeal and when all other means fail they are not slow to adopt any means of righting their wrongs."[25]

Why didn't tender-hearted King Kojong do something about oppressive conditions? A clue is found in a missionary letter of March 30, 1889: The new boys school is nearly finished but the King's permission to open it hasn't come yet....There is a failure of the supply of rice for the students at the hospital on account of which the students are leaving....The King is guarded against the approach of news as well as people. The tyranny of the avaricious officials is what blocks progress here in Corea. The King hasn't the slightest idea but that everything is going on outside the palace exactly as it ought to and little suspects that the appropriation of rice has been 'squeezed' into the pockets of officials before it can get anywhere near the hospital."[26]

In 1889 the King got enough of a glimmer of what was going on to send out a proclamation threatening severe punishment for bribery and extortion. But the edict had little effect and the outrages continued. As affairs worsened, potential converts began seeking out Choe Si-Hyong, enlisting in the Chondogyo ranks and carrying Tonghak doctrine back to their villages. Being a proscribed sect, Tonghak believers were often imprisoned and tortured or subjected to illegal exactions by magistrates. Corruption by local authorities, always worse when the central government was weak, had become endemic. In reaction, both followers and leaders of Tonghak became more militant.

In 1893 there were insurrections in several northern counties. In the South, younger Tonghak leaders, especially in the

Cholla province, or Chollado, mobilized their followers and attacked several county magistracies during the summer. The Tonghak movement for religious freedom for themselves fused with peasant discontent.

After winning major battles in Chonju in the spring of 1894, the Tonghaks publicized their program of twelve items; calling for equitable taxation, an end of official oppression, the redistribution of farmland on an equitable basis, burning of slave registers and abolishment of slavery, the right for widows to remarry, and punishment of Japanese collaborators.

The Chollado governor agreed to allow the establishment of overseers or correction offices in the 53 counties of his province. A Tonghak staff, under the supervision of their General Chon Pong-Jun, was to act in an advisory capacity to each district magistrate in order to prevent extortion and protect the farmers' interests. These offices administered the province during the summer of 1894. Unfortunately, not all Tonghak were free from corruption either, and after their spring victories there had been a great influx of persons with mixed motives into their ranks, so a number of unjust and illegal incidents occurred. Yet the system of overseer offices might have offered some relief to the entire nation had it been allowed to continue and able to reform itself. But the brief Tonghak hope, flickering in the few days of the overseer offices, was doomed. Like the 1884 emeute, it was to be extinguished by Chinese intervention.

Even before the Chonju agreement had gone into effect, King Kojong, against the advice of many of his ministers, asked Yuan Shih-Kai to intervene. This was not only unwise, but tragic. As has happened so often in Korea, outside aid did more harm than good. Yuan immediately dispatched 1,500 troops. The Tientsin Agreement which had been concluded between China and Japan after the 1884 Incident required each country to inform the other before sending troops to Korea. The Chinese duly did so, and the Japanese responded by sending thousands of their own soldiers to Seoul, supposedly to protect Japanese residents, although the Korean government reiterated to Japan that the rebellion had been quelled and their troops should be withdrawn. But it was too late. Once again Korea was destined to be the battleground for the confrontation of its "benefactors," China and Japan.

Death and Other Losses

In these years when things in Korea were going from unpleasant to unbearable, the young missionaries were having their own problems. The Presbyterians, weakened by a lack of man and womanpower, particularly had to struggle to maintain their precarious foothold.

The board secretaries did not ignore the missionaries' repeated pleas for help. In the spring of 1888, they issued the following partisan appeal:

"'Why the difference,' our missionaries in Korea are asking, 'between our Presbyterian Board and that of the Methodist Church?' The two organizations commenced work in Korea about the same time. That of the Presbyterian Board was especially favored by a series of providences which gave it great prestige, and which placed in its hands a hospital entirely supported by the Government. Now the Presbyterian Board has two missionaries; the Methodists have nine and are expecting to send out two more.... Why this difference, though our missionaries are pleading for reinforcements? Four or five new missionaries should be sent to Korea during the coming season. Where are the men? Perhaps a harder question is, Where are the funds to send them? It is the Centennial year of the Presbyterian Church. It should be a year of liberal things. God grant that its missionary work may end not in humiliation but in rejoicing."[27]

This challenge met with some response, and three new Presbyterian missionaries arrived in late 1888: a physician, Charles Power, and a teacher for the girls' school, Mary Hayden, on November 19, and a minister, Daniel L. Gifford, on December 15. Gifford came on the same ship from Japan as a party of three Canadians, sent out by the Toronto University YMCA--newlywed Mr. and Mrs. Robert Harkness and James Scarth Gale. Gale, a highly talented man, would become the most scholarly and imaginative of the missionaries, but no one knew that when the gaunt, mustached young man, not yet 26, arrived. Gale had the good sense to be a learner before he was a teacher, and the good fortune as an independent missionary not to have to hit the ground running as those before him had had to do. There was time and space enough for him to find himself and for his colleagues to discover his gifts.

Two more Presbyterians arrived on February 16, 1889--William Gardner and his sister Sarah. Heron extolled them: "Mr. Gardner seems to be a man of calm and deliberate thought, earnest and careful as a worker...a great acquisition. Miss Gardner is just what we need, an earnest, spiritual woman, one who is gifted with common sense as well as ability."[28] But alas, delight shortly turned to dismay as within the month the Gardners submitted their resignations.

Gardner wrote Ellinwood, "It is not practicable for us to remain and labor here," citing as his reasons the summer heat and rain, Korean housing, and the filth of the city.[29] The Gardners told the mission they were convinced their health would not stand up under such conditions. The other missionaries implored them to stay, assuring them of "the superiority of this climate to that elsewhere in the Orient," and pointing out that "foreigners have been singularly exempt from sickness."[30]

It is curious that the missionaries would argue the healthfulness of Korea since among their small group Harriet Heron had been on the brink of death for months, Annie Ellers Bunker's health leave for lung hemorrhages was delayed for weeks because she was too ill to travel, both Louise Rothweiler and Meta Howard would shortly be invalided home, as would Robert Harkness and the Underwoods, Heron would die within a few months, and both Daniel and Mary Hayden Gifford (who were married in April 1890) but a few years later.

The loss of the Gardners brings up a point worth considering: that the missionary force may not consist of the most able persons because they are not always the ones who are willing to go to or stay on a foreign field, under conditions not everyone would choose. The most able may be too intelligent for that! The missionary force, therefore, isn't necessarily "the cream of the crop:" it is simply the crop.

But ability counts too--the ability to be discreet, for instance--as the Presbyterians learned through their unfortunate experience with Dr. Charles Power. There had been rumors of Power's inappropriate behavior on shipboard enroute to Korea, reports that he had been seen drinking and gambling. But his coworkers in Korea found him to be good-hearted, hard working and willing, as well as desperately needed, so when he indignantly denied the charges against him, his expostulations were accepted. Within six months, however, new rumors were circulating,

Davies left for a 300-mile trek south hoping to open a station in the Pusan area. He became sick enroute and barely made it to the port where he sent a note, "Come at once!" to James Gale who was residing there. Gale and his language teacher took Davies to his lodgings and called in the Japanese doctor who diagnosed smallpox. Penumonia set in the following day. The Japanese doctor said quietly to Gale, "Er wird bald sterben" ("He will soon die"); and less than an hour later, on April 15, 1890, Davies passed away. Gale and a few Koreans buried him in a lonely grave on a nearby hillside.[33]

Davies left two important legacies, however. Accounts of his death circulated in Australia and inspired the Presbyterians to send more missionaries to Korea. The Australian mission in Korea, which has always been marked by small numbers but high dedication, continues today. Davies' other contribution was his part in the first union work in Korea. In late 1889 a Council of Missions had been inaugurated with Davies as secretary; this was to be the forerunner of the United Council of Presbyterian Missions which was to act as the governing body of the church until the organization of the independent Korean Presbyterian Church in 1907.

John Heron, who had labored for five years without a break, continued to be overworked. From the time of Allen's departure in October 1887 until Charles Power's short tenure beginning in November 1889 Heron had the full medical responsibility--foreign and Korean practice, the hospital and the palace--for the Presbyterians. Then there was the care and feeding of all the new missionaries and his chagrin and disappointment over Power and the Gardners. In addition, he had the care of a critically ill wife for almost a year, the responsibility of two baby daughters, and financial difficulties. Underwood was frequently away on country trips, including his nine-week honeymoon, and was six months in Japan from November 1889 getting his Korean grammar published, so Heron had also carried the burden of most of the mission business, correspondence, maintenance, and translation work.

Horace Allen and his family returned to Korea with the new year of 1890. Allen was, he said, "utterly sick of the folly" of trying to be appointed American Minister to Korea.[34] He denied any desire for a government post, but his correspondence clearly indicated that he had returned to Korea with a government appointment in mind. For a while, nothing came of his expectations.

Assigned to mission work in Pusan, Allen quickly found the port city undesirable and settled instead in Chemulpo for seven months. Underwood visited him in May and wrote Ellinwood, "I have seen Dr. Allen and have been much pleased with his evident attempts to avoid the mistakes he made when here before. He does seem to me to be trying to do mission work. He is living very plainly and quietly and is going out in the villages and trying to do all he can."[35] But Allen was miserable, and wrote the board secretary, "I seem to be an utter failure this time.... Don't you think I had better leave?"[36]

At his lowest point in early July after the deaths of two patients, one of whom was an official close to the King, he wrote, "My work has fallen off....Much as I hate to admit it, I must now confess to you that I seem to be a failure this time. If I could raise money for the King to help him in his private amours I would have influence of a kind. There is no patriotism here and everything seems to be tottering. My own government persistently ignores the King's requests (to have Allen appointed secretary of the American legation)....I don't think you need doctors here any longer....I guess I had better pull out and go home....I have no reputation any more....Even the Koreans have turned against me....About Chemulpoo, you are right. It is a poor place for missionary work."[37]

While Allen was bemoaning his fate from Chemulpo, John Heron in Seoul was losing a 20-day struggle with dysentery. Although delirious most of the time, Heron had lucid intervals in which he spoke of Christ and heaven with the servants and Korean friends. He asked his wife to remain on the field and carry on the work. James Gale and Horace Underwood were among those around the bed at the last, on July 26, and Gale reported, "His spirit passed quietly away, without a ripple."[38]

Allen had come to Seoul two days earlier to offer his medical services. According to Underwood, Heron asked three times to see Allen apparently wanting reconciliation, but Harriet Heron, embittered and under stress, refused to allow Allen to be called. So the great missionary feud was never resolved and Allen commented cruelly that Heron's death "seems a special reward for past conduct,"[39] although at the time he wrote, "It is a great shock....I regret it more than I am able to express."[40]

The next pressing concern was Heron's burial. The Presbyterian missionaries wired their board for funds for the funeral

expenses as Heron had left almost nothing. When application was made to the government for a burial site, several undesirable ones were offered. A reasonably quick burial was essential in the hot, humid July weather, and the American Minister Augustine Heard consented to temporary interment on the missionary compound, which almost resulted in a riot because no burials had ever been permitted within Seoul's city walls. The Foreign Office hastily set aside a beautiful spot on the banks of the Han River, at a point then located four miles from the city, as a foreign cemetary. Heron was buried there on July 28, and newcomer Samuel A. Moffett wrote, "We now have a new interest in the land of Korea. The first foreign grave here is that of the missionary, who gave his life to the Korean people."[41]

Harriet Heron decided to stay on, which pleased everyone but Horace Allen. Moffett wrote Ellinwood that she would be able to do work "which no one else could do without several years of training. Mrs. Heron has done more work among the women than anyone else on the field and has a better knowledge of the language than anyone except one of the Methodist ladies."[42]

In contrast, Allen wrote spitefully, "not knowing the language and having two children she can't do mission work yet Mrs. Heron expects to remain here...there will be no abatement of our troubles....I don't think she would be a very great expense on you, as she is a very good looking woman and she would doubtless marry soon but it would pay you to pension and retire her."[43] But Harriet Heron stayed on.

On July 21, the same week that Heron died, Allen's fortunes took an abrupt turn. Minister Heard received a telegram from the State Department announcing Allen was appointed secretary of the American legation. Allen talked things over with Underwood and D.A. Bunker and decided to take office. But to leave the mission meant he was without housing and obliged to repay the Presbyterian board for his family's passage to Korea. He offered to take the government hospital, writing Ellinwood, "Can't you accept my free services in resuscitating and holding this hospital for you in lieu of any debt?"[44] After his return to Korea he had downgraded the government hospital, accusing Heron of neglecting it. On June 11 he had written, "The hospital is in a wretchedly unkempt condition and is contrasted very unfavorably with the tidy, flourishing Methodist institution, the doctors of which devote their time to their work. In the slipshod way in which the royal institution is carried on little success and

many accidents occur." The day after Heron's death, Allen wrote, "As for the hospital work, I am not sure it will pay to continue it....The hospital has dwindled down to a mere dispensary. And a very dirty and immoral one too, with 16 petty officers to 'squeeze' the patients and absorb the money. To make the hospital a missionary success we should get absolute control of it. You would need to supply $2,000 to $3,000 a year in medicines, etc., then regular daily Christian work should be done there. If you can't do this the present is an excellent opportunity for letting the matter drop."

This was exactly the opinion of the other Presbyterians. Samuel Moffett had written before Heron's death, "For some little while we have been acting in the greatest harmony and a better spirit, a more spiritual tone has pervaded all our work. We have all felt that we were ready for systematic, conservative, aggressive work and were laying our plans accordingly. As you know Mr. Underwood made some concessions in his mode of work and Dr. Heron no longer seeing the necessity for applying the brakes had given free expression to his desire to push the evangelistic work. For some time Dr. Heron has been quite restive under his restrictions at the government hospital and was planning for work which he could give a more evangelistic turn."[45]

Although Heron did not live to see these plans put into effect, the others in his mission wanted to follow them. They appointed Horace Underwood a committee of one to investigate the hospital situation and report on what could be salvaged or what should be re-begun for more evangelistically-oriented medical work.

This action incensed Allen who wrote Ellinwood on August 8, "At the mission meeting last week I offered to attend to the hospital....My offer was not accepted. Discussion followed as to the advisability of keeping up the hospital or not which I thought could only be decided by yourselves. I then offered to go to the hospital, take an inventory, consult with the native officials as to better religious and financial arrangements, and report. To my mortification Mr. Moffett opposed this and secured the appointment of Mr. Underwood. The latter strange to say really had to explain to Moffett how the hospital was obtained--a statement that (the new missionaries) seemed not to credit wholly." According to Allen, he took the hospital over the objection of the missionaries after being requested to do so by the Chief Officer of the hospital, the King, and the president of the Foreign Office.

In the meantime the mission board cabled Allen to take charge of the hospital. Allen wrote, "This is fortunate as it settles matters. It was very humiliating for me to be refused permission to even look into the condition of the hospital I started."[46] Interestingly enough, the closer Allen looked, the better the hospital appeared to him. "The buildings are fine," he said. "The stock of medicines is large and complete. The medical stock is not so bad as made out. The officers are willing to do anything I ask.... I would like to have a house there."[47] Of course, since he was working at the legation, Allen could spend little time at the hospital.

"I like this legation work." he wrote. "The Minister (Augustine Heard) is old and sick most of the time. I will doubtless be Charge d'Affaires most of the time. It gives me immense importance with the Koreans. All of which helps the missionaries with whom I have fully identified myself anew."[48]

But the missionaries wrote individually and jointly to protest Allen's remaining in the mission while employed at the legation. Moffett wrote on July 25, "Dr. Allen has accepted the position of Secretary to the U.S. Legation.... I have heard that he desires to maintain his connection with the Mission and will ask that we provide a house in Seoul.... I most earnestly trust that if Dr. Allen retains the political position that he will completely sever his official connections with the Mission...instead of helping us with the Koreans (his position) will but cause all the official political actions of the American legation to reflect for good or ill upon the Mission. It will be a combination of politics and missionary effort in which I feel sure the missionary work will be compromised." Underwood wrote in a similar vein.

After the board's telegram arrived, Underwood wrote again, "Allen shows an unwillingness to follow the desires of the mission and a desire to override our whole action. He said that the Hospital is <u>not under the mission</u> but was an independent affair, that it had been placed in his <u>personal</u> charge."[49] The missionaries wrote a joint letter on August 11 to "request that the Board require him to resign either his position as a member of the mission or as Secretary of the Legation and thus be the one or the other."

Two days later Allen resigned, saying "I have made up my

mind that I cannot work with the Presbyterian Mission of Seoul.... I will starve rather than place myself under these people."[50]

The King placed a house at Allen's disposal and although he and the Presbyterian mission officially parted ways, Allen continued on at the hospital until the arrival of another Presbyterian doctor. True to his word, for many years Allen used his influence from the American legation to further the mission cause. In fact, he wrote that one of his first acts as Charge d'Affaires was to obtain "a passport for Mr. Moffett to travel in any and all the provinces of Korea."[51] And with that action a new era began.

Extending the Boundaries

In 1890 both Protestant missions were finally able to make perceptible progress in striking out from Seoul. The Presbyterians gained one of their greatest assets for going forward in January with the arrival of Samuel Austin Moffett.

Moffett is a difficult man to pen on paper. No single personality trait obtrudes on which to hang a portrait. He was positive, though not so enthusiastic as Underwood; judicial and discriminating, but not thorny like Allen; quieter in his zeal than Appenzeller; neither brilliant nor creative in the sense Gale was, but intelligent, steady, and focused. A marvel of balance, Samuel Moffett was a genial man, liked by all.

A recent discussion on successful executives posed the question, "How do you spot a leader?" and answered, "They come in all ages, shapes, and conditions. Some are poor administrators, some are not overly bright. One clue: the true leader can be recognized because somehow his people consistently turn in superior performances."[52] Moffett, who <u>was</u> bright and an excellent administrator besides, was a leader from the time he set foot on Korean soil; a trademark of his career was that any group he was in performed better.

The first mission meeting after his arrival, held on February 11, 1890, was the most business-like and forward looking one the Presbyterians had had. Although it was a traumatic year,

riddled by sickness, death, and Allen's resignation, by October Daniel Gifford was writing, "Our mission policy is taking the shape of a more aggressive, systematized, evangelical work,"[53] and much of this was due to Moffett.

What forces shaped Samuel Moffett, who was the fourth son of six children in an ordinary, hard working, devout Indiana family? Moffett's father, a Southerner, was strongly abolitionist, while his mother, from Pennsylvania, was secretly sympathetic to the South, which may indicate a certain independence of thought and perhaps even the ability for united action in spite of diversity of opinion.

References to his early years are sparse. When he was elderly and his wife and others urged him to write his memoirs, he replied, "I have been so busy living the days that I have forgotten much of the past and have trouble recalling it."[54] To Samuel Moffett, the past was done, and the present was the time for energetic, informed work for the future. The Korean Christians, who gave nicknames to all the missionaries, had a particularly apt one for him: "The looking up the road man."

At age 21, Samuel Moffett tied for top honors at Hanover College and gave the salutatory address, on "Agnostic Morality."[55] A chemistry major who studied for a master's degree in chemistry, he was described by one professor as "scholarly, devoted, and endowed with common sense."[56] When he applied as a missionary, he wrote, "My second year in seminary, I faced the question of the foreign field and after a struggle against selfish plans, I felt willing to go where the Lord would have me."[57]

William Baird, the life-long friend who roomed with Moffett at Hanover and McCormick, and was to be a missionary colleague for 40 years, once remarked, "Most of us missionaries didn't give up an awful lot when we came to the Korea mission field. We never would have had anything but small, unimportant churches and minimal salaries anyway. But Moffett was a person who would have gone to the top in any field, in the church or out of it."[58]

The first Korean Moffett ever met was the 1884 failed revolutionary, Pak Yong-Hyo, in Yokohama. His next Korean acquaintance was Underwood's language teacher and literary assistant. Moffett recalled that "Prince Pak was in foreign dress; Mr. Song, in Korean scholar's garb, a novel and striking figure."[59]

What the Koreans saw was a tall (6'1"), lean American with a friendly, long face, clean shave except for a small mustache, with a cleft in his chin, who looked simultaneously boyish and weather-beaten, like a Midwest cowpoke.

At Chemulpo, he and the other Presbyterian newcomer, Susan Doty, were greeted by Dr. John Heron, Daniel Gifford and Mary Hayden, most of the Presbyterian mission force. The group arrived in Seoul after the curfew bell had rung, but were able to squeeze through the West Gate after Dr. Heron's faithful kesu (private soldier) induced the guard to crack it open.[60] It was January 25, Samuel Moffett's 26th birthday.

Moffett wrote that his first impression, "deepened as time goes by, was that the people show an utter lack of positive happiness. They seem to have a look of settled submission to an unsatisfactory life. The first happy face I saw was that of our native evangelist and to me the contrast was a marked one and impressed me very strongly."[61]

Another impression was that everyone was overworked--"We need more men....There is work enough now for a dozen men."[62] For this reason, Moffett was immediately given supervision of the orphanage, and with James Gale's help, managed within a year to bring order out of chaos and turn it into a functioning boys' school with Chinese and Bible as the core curriculum and a strongly Christian emphasis. To avoid attracting "rice Christians," he weeded out students who had done poorly, the lazy, and those uninterested in the faith; required students to provide partial support; and dismissed the inept staff, hiring two competent, committed Christian Korean teachers.

He began studying the language two days after his arrival, and his approach to it, as to everything else, was straightforward. "The language is difficult; but it seems to me that in three years one should be able to use it quite effectively, but to do so in less than two years will be very exceptional."[63] Yet, a year later, when Moffett was examined, Horace Underwood reported, "Mr. Moffett passed an exceptionally fine examination ...has made a very fine start, and bids fair to be one of the first students of the language."[64]

Although the Presbyterians and Methodists had planned from the beginning to open stations all over the peninsula, the only

Protestant missionaries who had yet lived outside the capital were the Horace Allens who spent seven months in Chemulpo and James Gale who was 10 months in Pusan.

In the Methodist tradition of circuit riding, however, Henry Appenzeller made a yearly trip north and in late summer, 1890, Samuel Moffett was able to go along on his first trip to Pyongyang. The men left Seoul on August 29 and after a stop in Songdo where Appenzeller met with five men, the beginning of Methodist work there, they reached Pyongyang in six and a half days. "As yet it is not open to foreign residence," he wrote. "Very little has been done in evangelistic work. The Roman Catholics are said to number 3,000 with a French priest living as a Korean in a small place 70 li south of here. The Methodists have had a local preacher here for some time and at their meeting on Sept. 7 which I attended there were 18 men present....Their preacher however proving to be dishonest has just been discharged. They also have a teacher at An Tjyeu and have begun work in Eui Tjyou. Our own work consists of three baptized men, three reported believers, and several interested friends of these. They are without direction or leadership and have no regular meetings. It is in this province that a great deal of our colporteurage work has been done and where Mr. Ross of Mukden and his followers have labored. Here I have been visited by men from six or seven cities. The people are larger, hardier, more independent, and have more spirit than those in the south."

Moffett wrote that his Korean teacher, "boy," and he together were managing to live on $1 a day. "I have been here for 10 days, living quietly in a Korean inn--going on the street every day exciting considerable interest. The people greatly dislike the Japanese and their manner towards me changes as soon as they know I am an American and not a Japanese. A great many have visited me in my room, many of whom have read considerable of the Bible and some tracts while here; with many I have talked of Christ and with others my teacher has talked though he is not as yet a baptized believer but quite well acquainted with the Scripture truths.

"I intend to stay here several days longer, making sure that it is practicable for a foreigner to live here several weeks at a time and quietly do evangelistic work."[65]

These were scouting years, and almost every letter of both Methodists and Presbyterians referred to the opportunities for

expansion and pleaded for more men and money to start work outside of Seoul. The boards too were urging their missionaries to "get somewhere a foothold outside of Seoul."[66]

The problem of expansion remained lack of men and means. Moffett wrote board secretary F.F. Ellinwood Sept. 15, 1890: "In your letter you say 'we ought not to put all our eggs in one basket'--but--it depends on how many eggs you have. We certainly need not less than five men in Seoul for work exclusively in Seoul and immediate neighborhood. Seoul will always be the center of work and the most important point....We have but three men and no physician. Of course Mr. Underwood alone has the language."

Ellinwood replied ruefully, "If we had no end of funds and just the right man at hand, we should proceed more rapidly, but that does not seem to be the way of Providence." Later he wrote, "The most we can say is that we do as well by Korea as by any field, and that plus special contributions of the Underwood brothers."[67]

These special contributions were significant; without them there would have been no expansion of the work, no opening of Pusan or Pyongyang. Horace Underwood's brothers John T. and Frederick provided the wherewithal to send out Samuel Moffett in 1890, William and Annie Baird in 1891, and the transportation, outfit, and salaries for six new workers in 1892; plus funds to purchase land in Pusan and Pyongyang.

The 1891 Annual Meeting of the Presbyterian mission was delayed slightly so that the William Bairds could participate; the young couple arrived on Feb. 2 and the five-day meeting began the next day. Gifford reported that "The length was necessitated by the reading and adoption of the (first) Rules and By-Laws of the Mission."[68] These by-laws indicated the mission was pulling itself together, and Moffett was behind this, hoping "to avoid friction which has resulted from having no settled policy."[69]

In other actions of this mission meeting, Underwood and Baird were directed to proceed to Pusan to select a site for a new station; Moffett was authorized to buy property in Pyongyang. "Moffett goes North," wrote Horace Allen, "and as Ping An bids fair to be opened soon, he has struck in the right direction."[70]

Moffett set out from Seoul on February 25, 1891, with James

Gale who had just applied to join the Presbyterian mission. They travelled with native evangelist So Sang-Yun ("Mr. Saw"), four other Koreans, and two pack ponies.

Their accounts of this trip are filled with a sense of exuberance as they left mission responsibilities, petty grievances, and paperwork behind. Their zest for new experiences, appreciation of the people, and challenges met along the way, as well as for the beauty of the countryside, shines through; never mind the bed bugs, sandstorms, and lack of comforts.

Since they were walking, they often had to ferry, ford, or wade rivers. Sometimes they could find a farmer willing to carry them across piggyback for a fee. Once Gale, asking such a man at one river for help. was met with a look of contempt. Gale promptly jumped on the startled man's back and hung on. "He muttered to himself awful threatenings, proceeded slowly...stopping to reconsider in the middle of the stream, but it was hopeless and he landed me safely. I apologized...expressed the hope that we might still be friends, adding some extra cash by way of indemnity. He...stood looking at me in speechless amazement and is standing so yet for aught I know."[71]

At one inn an old grandmother asked if they had books with them, saying "I know of the western book and I know westerners are good people and that they have not come to harm us," an immense encouragement after being pointed out for weeks as foreign devils. Gale had a run-in at this inn when he borrowed the family fishing pole. The grandfather took exception and called for him to return it at once. "I pretended not to hear. The storm would blow over in a little...but a whirlwind suddenly caught me, in which I lost line, fish, interest, and everything. When I came properly to, an old Korean, seventy years of age, was carefully putting a fish-rod back in its place, while an American was pretending to dig wild onions on the bank of the river, the village people meanwhile looking on encouragingly."[72]

Moffett wrote, "We...have preached the gospel in city, town, and village all along the way. Our evangelist is a thorough Christian and a man who commands respect and attention everywhere. He preaches and teaches the plain truths of the gospel from an experience of 15 years, being one of those who came to us through Mr. Ross of Moukden. We stayed in Ping Yang five days having service there on Sunday. The Mission had given me an authorization to purchase a house there under the $400 appropriation of the Board, but as we have not yet a reliable man to put

in charge the purchase was not made. I am again impressed with the desirability of having a Christian worker there and have some hopes that one of the two professing Christians there will develop into a trustworthy man. We found several inquirers, but the people are as yet very suspicious of foreigners and afraid of Christian books."[73]

They crossed the Yalu into China, visiting John Ross in Mukden. "With the information there obtained we started for the Korean valleys and I think have satisfactorily settled the fact that the work can be better done from China than from Korea as those valleys are almost unapproachable from our side. We spent two weeks among the mountains of China and North Korea, finding the region sparsely settled, poor and so nearly destitute of food that we have given it the name of Starvation Camp as we lived on boiled oats and millet most of that time....We came down through the middle of Korea to the East, reaching Ham Heung, the capital of the province, and on the way from there stopped at Gensan (Wonsan), the Eastern treaty port. In this region we found what we consider the most beautiful and most wealthy and apparently the most prosperous region of Korea and we feel the importance of opening work there....From an evangelistic point of view I think the journey a most successful one. We were able to preach in cities, towns, and villages to hundreds of people who had never heard the gospel. We found them ready to listen...and eager to know more....We had not an unpleasant experience on the whole trip, the people and officials being very courteous although their curiosity was so great that we could hardly get a half hour alone. The North is open for successful work."[74]

On their long trip, the two friends must have shared a good many confidences. Perhaps they discussed James Gale's affairs of the heart, for when he began the journey, Gale was engaged to a girl in Canada. Somewhere along the way, he decided he'd made a mistake, wrote explaining his feelings, that his heart belonged elsewhere (to Harriet Heron), and the engagement was broken. Moffett was an admirer of Mrs. Heron, and may have been in love with her himself, but after he and Gale returned to Seoul about May 20, it was Gale who wooed and won her, writing Ellinwood in September 1891: "I hope to be married the coming year, but not to the person of whom I wrote you."

The board decided Gale was dangerously fickle. Not only did they closely question the circumstances of his broken engagement, but they expressed displeasure with his work plans as well.

Having spent three years in the country, Gale wanted to settle down and work in Seoul; the mission unanimously wanted him there. But the board had expected "a man to work in the interior who is not encumbered with a family."[75] The board came very close to rejecting Gale, though the other missionaries wrote praising and endorsing him. Even Horace Allen wrote, "I congratulate you on getting Mr. Gale. He is a No. 1 man whether he marries Mrs. Heron or not."[76]

Correspondence on the matter continued for six months. Moffett wrote in late December, "Your letters of November 19 have taken us completely by surprise and have been the occasion of much pain and regret....Gale is a thorough Presbyterian, a firm believer in Scripture, the Calvinistic system of theology, and the necessity of the Holy Spirit's presence for success in the work. He speaks the Korean language better than anyone else on the field and is just finishing a translation of Acts which bids fair to be the best translation of any book yet given to us judging from the Koreans' comments.

"I have the greatest confidence in Mr. Gale's consecration and in his assertion that both he and his wife are ready to go anywhere....A fear that we will be judged before we have explained conditions and reasons for our actions will make almost any missionary's life a failure. I could not help believing that it was this more than overwork, more than anything else that led to Dr. Heron's death. I have never known a man more thoroughly unselfish and more thoroughly possessing a consecrated missionary spirit--but irritated and worried and goaded beyond expression at the thought that his motives were questioned, his consecration doubted and his work misunderstood, his mental conflicts more severe from the fact that he was proud spirited, wore him out. I would be spared any more such misunderstandings and so write as freely as I do."

Gale's appointment as a Presbyterian missionary was secured, and he was married to Harriet, a happy match, on April 7, 1892.

When Moffett and Gale had headed north in February of 1891, Underwood and Baird had started south to buy property to open work in Pusan. They were told by local authorities that permission to sell land would have to come from Seoul. Underwood wired Allen, who had become secretary of the American legation, and after many delays and difficulties, Minister Augustine Heard was able to wrest permission from the reluctant Koreans.[77] Heard

wrote Baird, "Your land was the first yielded to foreigners, as foreigners, by the Korean government."[78]

The chief complication was that a French priest, M. Robert, who had bought a house a few months earlier through a Korean agency had been mobbed by enraged citizens. He lost all his possessions, his interpreter was nearly killed, and the priest himself managed to make it back to Seoul only with great difficulty. Allen wrote on March 25, "The French Minister has demanded full redress and the public punishment of the Governor (who had refused shelter or protection). As the latter is of the Royal Family and very powerful, the King cannot do it. The French Minister is exceedingly firm and has just been supplied by his government with a war vessel. The outcome is uncertain, but the foolish opposition will be done away with without doubt."[79] Allen correctly surmised that it would be the Koreans who would yield. This case of gunboat diplomacy settled the question of foreign missionaries' rights to live, work, and buy property outside the treaty ports.

Realizing the coercion involved, Ellinwood wrote the mission on May 14, "The difficulties between the French and the Koreans have been rather roughly handled. I regret the methods of the French, though sometimes I think we all derive some advantage, they doing the dirty work and the wicked work. The time will come (and I hope at an early day) when the European powers cannot browbeat the Oriental nations." At the same time, he had to admit that he hoped, "as a result, we may be nearer to the realization of liberty of thought."

Besides the problems of when and how and who to start work outside of Seoul, the Presbyterians had another problem, one still recurring in missionary circles: how to withdraw from work once begun. The mission had wanted for some time to reorganize the government hospital into a truly evangelistic institution, or failing that, to start in its stead a new mission hospital. Heron's death and Allen's re-entry into the royal hospital had prevented them from taking such a step. After receiving a number of letters from Seoul on the subject, Ellinwood had written Allen requesting him to turn the hospital over to the mission. Allen refused to do so until he could pass it on to another physician. In January 1891 the mission asked R.A. Hardie to take charge. Hardie and his wife were a newly-arrived couple sent out by the Toronto YMCA and, like Annie Ellers, Hardie did not actually have an M.D. degree. According to Allen, "The Koreans absolutely refused to have him after a month."[80]

The government hospital had no doctor for two months until the April 3 arrival of Cadwallader Vinton and his bride Letitia.[81] Vinton began work at the hospital in mid-April, but felt frustrated from the start that no evangelism was permitted. Even the religious books, tracts, and gospel portions he left lying around the hospital were confiscated by the ubiquitous officials. No government funds ever reached Vinton. More than half of the hospital appropriations continued to go into the pockets of the officials. Vinton, "in accordance with the unanimous feeling of the mission and the formal advice of its voting members," severed his connection with the royal hospital, putting the key in his pocket and walking away.[82]

Allen was furious. He wrote Ellinwood on May 13, "It seems that your first and only success in Korea has slipped through your fingers. Dr. Vinton came with Mr. Gifford today to inform me that the mission had decided to drop the hospital--reason, there was not enough opportunity to do mission work. But as none of them have ever tried to do such work, how could they know anything about it?" Allen did not attempt a confrontation with the mission, but besides writing the board he appealed to Minister Heard to use his influence to urge Vinton to stay on at the hospital.

Vinton capitulated, writing Ellinwood on July 3, "Today I am to resume attendance at the hospital upon precisely the old basis," but he continued to doubt the hospital's value. "It is not a hospital where severe cases can be relieved and treated to the best advantage, but a dispensary where the physician must only expect to give out medicines to applicants, to be used or misused."[83]

Meanwhile the board had written that "We were very surprised at the suddenness with which the mission terminated the hospital work....You expect too much in the way of ethics from the Koreans ....We sympathize with the earnest desire to have our medical work of a more distinctly missionary effort but question that measures to sever the hospital connection will achieve this end." The mission was instructed not to surrender the hospital, nor to take "any important step of this kind" in the future without first consulting the board.

Allen wrote, "The hospital has been saved entirely by the action of the American Legation against the machinations of the Presbyterian Mission."[84]

During the month that Horace Underwood was away with Baird in Pusan trying to buy property, his wife's health failed alarmingly. The mission doctors said the only hope of her survival was to go to the States. Six coolies carried Lillias on a long steamer chair to the boat, and Annie Ellers Bunker and Louisa Rothweiler, both only recently returned from health leaves, accompanied her in case she needed emergency medical attention on the way. "I can never tell with what regret, shame, and pain I left Korea," Lillias wrote, "to go <u>now</u>, a <u>failure</u>, to leave my work scarcely begun, perhaps never to return, was bitter. But more bitter still was the thought that I was dragging my husband back from a life of usefulness."[85]

Underwood wrote plaintively on May 17 from San Francisco, "The final decision to return was very sudden. My wife had a sort of collapse....It was a great trial to us to have to leave our work....We hope the Lord may have something for us to do in America."

Indeed he did. Underwood's dynamic energy was put to excellent use in the States. A compelling and popular speaker, he had a good story to tell of missionary work begun with impressive results. His love for the Korean people and his vision of a strong Korean church, "a light in the East," as well as his contagious enthusiasm were all communicated. The importance of this cannot be overemphasized, because there are two sides to missionary endeavor, the field and home support; one cannot exist without the other, and the relative efficiency and enthusiasm on one side affects the other. Horace Underwood was a spark plug to the sending enterprise.

Very soon after his arrival in the States, his brother John offered salaries for six men for Korea. Ellinwood wrote Horace Underwood on September 23, 1891, that the board had agreed to accept his brother's offer...six men for Korea. "And I don't know where one of them is to be found." He suggested that Underwood visit McCormick Seminary "and plead the cause of Korea.... You can plead as no one else in the country can. I shall pray for your success."

Underwood made the visit at once, recruiting two students who would ultimately be indispensable members of the Pyongyang team--Graham Lee and W.L. Swallen. The next month Underwood spoke at the Inter-Seminary Missionary Alliance which met in Nashville, Tenn. Student delegates were much moved by the appeal

for Korea given by Underwood and by the address of Yun Chi-Ho, the 1884 emeute refugee, who after becoming a Christian at the Methodist Anglo-Chinese College in Shanghai, had gone to the United States and was studying at Vanderbilt University.

Yun heard Underwood speak twice, and his own talk was something of a reply: "You have been told that there are 12 perishing millions in Korea," he told his audience, "that they hunger and thirst for the gospel; that they beg you to 'come and help' them." Yun emphasized that the Koreans were rather "living millions who don't hunger and thirst after the gospel any more than children hunger and thirst after the medicine their mother may give them for their benefit. No one, except maybe other missionaries, was begging for missionaries to come.

Yun said he could not ask anyone to become a missionary to Korea: "Shall I ask you to leave this country where civilization is nearer to perfection than anywhere else...to bid a farewell to your fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, last but not least to your sweethearts and go stay among a people who cannot understand your language...cannot appreciate your motives? No! I don't believe in a missionary of human persuasion; I don't therefore ask or persuade anybody.

"If, however, you realize that your light will shine brighter in Korea because of the heathen darkness; that your work which may be a brick in the temple of God here will be a corner-stone of the church of Christ in Korea...if the Spirit of God tells you to go there because of the great need and the few laborers...if these are appeals, if these are calls...let them call you...my heart, prayers, and service shall be with you in the common cause of winning Korea for our Lord."[86]

Horace Underwood on this one health leave was eventually able to recruit seven young people to open the Southern Presbyterian mission, and six persons for the Northern Presbyterians, all of whom were sent out and salaried with funds provided by his brother John. Among the latter group were a woman teacher, Ellen Strong, and an outstanding doctor, O.R. Avison and his family.

One very unpleasant by-product of Underwood's well-publicized speaking tour was Malcolm Fenwick's attack, printed about the time the Underwoods returned to Korea in the spring of 1893.

The independent missionary Malcolm Fenwick was a holy terror.

Though Canadian, Fenwick's ancestry was Scotch, one might say "hot" Scotch. His childhood had been a rugged one, as he was only five when his father died leaving 11 children. Unable to attend college, he was heavily influenced by the Student Volunteer Movement and the Niagara Bible Conferences. Studying the Bible at night and preaching every chance he got, Fenwick said, "The denominational feature of missions was not strong in my mind."[87] Without denominational affiliation and backing, without college or seminary training, he felt unwilling and unable to go as a missionary, yet continued to feel called by God to Korea. Finally he was stirred by a missionary from India who said that a man dying of thirst did not care whether the water was given him in a fine cut-glass goblet, but would gladly drink from a rusty, battered can and live.

Fenwick secured financial backing from a group of businessmen in Toronto and arrived in Seoul in November 1889. After 10 months of language study in the capital, he went with Korean friends to Sorae, built a Korean-style house there and gardened while continuing to study Korean. It was from Sorae that he wrote the letter accusing Horace Underwood of exaggerating missionary success in Korea and of baptizing converts carelessly.

Taking exception to what he had heard of Underwood's speeches in America, Fenwick wrote a friend, J.H. Brookes, in 1893. The letter was printed in the May issue of a premillenarian publication, The Truth, and later reprinted in a book on missions by Dr. James Johnston, and it sparked controversy for a decade. Fenwick wrote: "Two years ago a man named Underwood returned from this field to America, and has since been spreading his exaggerated stories throughout the churches in the United States...let me give you an account of his converting work in a village (Sorae) where I afterward lived, as given me by one whom he baptized on the occasion mentioned. A native who received mission money was directed by Mr. Underwood to get together at least 40 or 50 men, and he would be along at such a time. Rather perplexed by the number demanded, the native set to work to gather his friends, but could only muster nine. The missionary arrived, and after exhortation at considerable length, asked the natives to remove their hats. 'What for?' said one. 'Oh, never mind,' coaxingly pleaded the native friend: 'take off your hats' and with the politeness so characteristic of the Easterner, they removed their hats, and then the Rev. Mr. Underwood, D.D.[88] administered baptism to these nine men, none of whom, with the

possible exception of one, he had ever seen."[89]

The Underwoods and their board were aghast. "(Fenwick) ought to be trounced," wrote Ellinwood.[90] Lillias called the story a slander.[91] Truth made partial amends by publishing Underwood's letter of refutation with an editorial commending him. The Toronto committee discontinued Fenwick's support and suggested he withdraw from the field.

In August 1894 Fenwick stated in The Missionary Review of the World, that he was deeply sorry he ever wrote the letter but claimed his charges were true. "The letter was penned under the conviction that the Church of Christ in America was given to exacting glowing reports from missionaries to bolster up their dishonoring methods of raising money."

The story, whatever its origin, was false. The missionaries had been very skeptical of easy conversions and attempted to ensure anyone baptized knew the essentials of the biblical faith. This wasn't always possible--as one missionary wrote, "No one in these modern days but the Pope lays claim to infallibility of discernment. That some black sheep have gotten into the church is evidenced by the fact that we have had to put them out"[92]--but the effort was made. Underwood's reports may have seemed overly optimistic but he had experience and facts to support his claims of the responsiveness of the Koreans.

Fenwick's letter was significant in that it has influenced missionary policy up to the present. All the missionaries became even more cautious about whom they baptized, and a waiting period of months and even years was required before baptism. During this probation period, the seeker was required to observe the Sabbath, study the Bible and church polity, pass examinations on these subjects and on his personal faith, abstain from alcohol, tithe, learn to read if illiterate, read the Bible, and introduce others to Christ. In most Korean Protestant churches today these remain requirements for baptism.

Fenwick left Korea in 1893 and spent three years in America where he was ordained by two prominent Baptist ministers, Dr. Arthur T. Pearson and Dr. A.J. Gordon. He later secured support from several individuals and organized an independent mission along the lines of the China Inland Mission, returning to Korea in 1896 as its director, settling in Wonsan. With his wife, he continued missionary work there until his death in January 1936.

A Canandian missionary wrote of Fenwick that "He strongly criticized the regular missions and churches as being over-organized, claiming that God was not in the Presbyteries, Assemblies, or Mission Conferences, but in the midst of the little flock, and especially with those who sit alone in quiet communion with the Spirit. This attitude inevitably led to conflict with other missionaries. For years he carried on a feud with Gale and Hardie."93

Samuel Moffett expressed similar views in 1934 when he was looking back over 44 years of mission work, a period he had shared with Fenwick. "Another missionary who did much for the widespread proclamation of the Gospel is Mr. Fenwick....I have often regretted our inability to win his co-operation. Originally a Presbyterian, with unusual gifts as an instructor in the Scripture which he unwaveringly accepts as the Word of God, he had much to do with the training of the early Christians, notably So Kyong-Jo, one of the first seven men ordained to the Korean ministry, and Ko Hak-Youn, teacher and helper to Mr. Baird in opening the station in Pusan and in teaching the early converts there...for over 40 years Fenwick has carried on an independent work. As a great Bible student and teacher, he has been a blessing to many ministers and elders of the Presbyterian Church."94 He was undoubtedly a curse to some, too.

In some respects, Fenwick, who adopted a Korean child, David Ahn, as his son and heir, was ahead of his time. He was concerned for improving the physical welfare of his "little flock." In both Sorae and Wonsan he had a model farm and he was among the missionaries active in importing improved seed, plants, and fruit trees. He emphasized the use of "native" evangelists, an idea that was not entirely orginal, but he also insisted that they be continually on the move (thus the name of his mission, the Corean Itinerant Mission), and not too closely allied with church, presbytery, or assembly organizations. Congregations formed in this way were known as the Church of Christ in Corea, and the ones that survived the Korean War for the most part became Baptist. Because of the barriers of language, customs, and living standards, Fenwick was convinced that "The simple hearted believer in any country is God's most efficient and most economical witness in that country, and comparatively few expensive foreigners are needed."95

James Gale called Fenwick "Fireblower" in The Vanguard, his novel about the early Korean missionaries. "Fireblower, the

independent missionary...was kind-hearted but heady, and set on one thing, come what may, namely his own way. Cross it and he would pour scorn on you, yea, mouthfuls of invective, but he prayed and studied his Bible and lived a lonely, self-sacrificing kind of life. A strange creature was Fireblower!"[96]

Love and War

One of the more unlikely missionary romances was that of doctors Rosetta Sherwood and William James Hall. Hall, a 29-year-old Canadian, was working in the New York City Mission dispensary when they met. Rosetta, 24, was a highly educated, painfully plain young woman, strong minded and stubborn. Yet when Hall looked up from his patient at his new assistant, he fell in love with her at first sight.

Within a month he proposed, but marriage had not figured in Rosetta Sherwood's plans of becoming a medical msiionary. By the time Hall proposed again at Easter, she had been appointed to Korea, signing an agreement that she would not marry for five years.

Rosetta sailed for Korea in the fall of 1890, with George Heber Jones' 21-year-old fiancee, Margaret Bengel, a schoolteacher. Hall's love letters followed Rosetta and eventually he did too. Handsome and cheerful, Hall was immensely popular at the New York slum hospital where he had worked. When he left New York, famed songwriter Fanny Crosby who wrote a hymn, "Who Will Go?" dedicated to him, was in the crowd to see him off.

George Heber Jones, who met Hall in Chemulpo on December 16, 1891, was unable to obtain a second pony for the trip to the capital. Characteristically, Hall took in the situation, said the pony was too small for his 6' frame and declared himself happy to walk the whole way. After all, he was on the way to his beloved!

No one in Seoul knew of their engagement and Rosetta wrote of the reaction of the first person she told, Louise Rothweiler, "To say that she was <u>astounded</u> by my announcement does not half express her surprise. I don't understand it, but it seems to

have been the general impression here that I would never look twice at a man. I am surprised myself at her great surprise; but oh, she was so lovely to me and she bade me 'Godspeed' with a kiss upon my brow and tears in her eyes."[97] The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society was not so understanding and sent a sharp letter, expressing disappointment that she would break her five-year contract and asking her to repay her passage money.

The Methodists had for some time been wanting to take more vigorous action toward establishing stations outside of Seoul. Hall, the prime candidate to open a new station, was asked to make a scouting trip 350 miles north to Pyongyang and Uiju with George Heber Jones. The two men left on a raw day in early March, and after various adventures including eating dog soup and almost freezing in a blizzard, crossed over the Taedong River, frozen two feet thick, into Pyongyang on March 14, 1892. Jones wrote that "from morn till night we were besieged by visitors, and to one and all we preached the truth, cared for the sick, and spent a busy, happy week....Opening a book counter in an accommodating store, our Korean brethren in one day sold 80 Christian books. This brought down an edict from the governor of the province prohibiting the sale. But this didn't worry us much, and we kept right on selling."[98]

Hall returned on April 18 and in his report to the mission recommended Pyongyang as the best location for a new station. He and Rosetta worked together in Seoul until their wedding on June 27. At 9 a.m. they were married at the British legation by Consul General W.C. Hillier and at noon there was a second ceremony at the Methodist ladies' home. At the reception, given by the William Scrantons, there was a giant wedding cake baked and decorated by the Chinese chef, E.D. Steward,[99] and a train of donkeys laden with Korean cash which was distributed to the poor in good Korean custom. At 2 p.m., the Halls left for Chemulpo, Rosetta in a bridal chair while the bridegroom walked or rode alongside, entertaining her with songs. They had a two-month honeymoon in Chefoo. Their hopes of working side by side were dashed at the Methodist Annual Meeting held in August. Rosetta was assigned to continue work in the Woman's Hospital in Seoul, while James Hall was appointed to open the Pyongyang station.

On October 18, 1892, Rev. W.A. Noble and his bride Mattie Wilcox arrived in Seoul. James Hall had known Noble at the New York slum mission, and had inspired him to come to Korea. It was Hall's idea that the two young couples could live together

and pool their food and funds to save enough money to pay the salary of yet another missionary, Dr. John Busteed, a friend from New York. Rosetta and the Nobles had reservations about this plan, and Rosetta confided to her diary, "I can see that they both have to fight the same battle that I did before they could do it. Strange, but it seems to me that the Doctor did not have to do this. Is it pure selfishness with me and them? We are all very anxious to do what is right, and what will render us able to save the most to help others come to the field, but...."[100] Actually this living arrangement proved to be a happy one; and when Busteed arrived on the field, he boarded with them.

Hall was home only 12 days that fall. Returning to Seoul from Pyongyang in mid-December, he came across two men lying in the road, one dead, one nearly so. He took the wounded man on his pony to the inn he had left that morning and persuaded the innkeeper to take him in, leaving all his own money. After giving the man medical attention, Hall set out again, penniless, with the wry thought that should he meet the robbers they would not get much. Providentially, he met a Japanese doctor friend on the road and was able to borrow enough funds to get back to Seoul.

In February 1893 Hall left again, this time with Noble to be gone until April 13. The painfulness of the young couple's separations is hinted at in James Hall's letter to Rosetta, written on March 16: "Your precious letter reached me on Tuesday. Although it was as long as I could expect, yet while I was reading it, I was dreading that each page would be the last. Tonight my whole soul goes out to you in love. I have in you, my dear, the desire of my heart. I praise God more and more each day for giving me such a priceless treasure. You are my perfect ideal. I could not ask for more in a wife than I have in you my darling."[101]

"God has given me a heart to love," Hall had written,[102] and this wholehearted love was his outstanding attribute. The same warmth that could cause a tightly budded girl like Rosetta Sherwood to blossom attracted the Korean people to him. As a backwoods boy, Jimmy Hall had "no uncommon abilities or remarkable talents;" his outstanding trait was his good natured perseverance.[103] He dropped out of school and worked as a carpenter until he contracted TB and was expected to die at the age of 18. Instead he experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit, recovered completely, and became an evangelist. He went back to high

school at age 20 and sold books and insurance to put himself through college, receiving a teacher's certificate in July 1883. He taught school for two years to save money for medical school, but never had much, existing mostly on apples and stale bread for several years. He did not have funds even for his medical diploma, but after praying God would provide, he received the exact sum needed as a gift from a friend on his way to the graduation ceremony.

A doctor who worked with him in the New York mission wrote, "My first impressions of him were not very favorable....He did not seem brilliant, though he did seem kind. One factor in his success was his patience. Yet it was not his patience that struck one; given his character you would expect patience, just as give a good apple tree you would expect apples. The roots of patience, humility, and obedience were there. Pride and selfishness, the roots of impatience, were not, or if they were, it was known only to himself; we never saw them. He often spent the night in prayer and his fervent 'Praise the Lord' and 'let us have a word of prayer' was associated with him by almost every friend. Many were better versed in scripture, better versed in medicine, better educated altogether; but it was his entire self-abnegation, his preeminence in practical godliness and his never changing self denial which made all follow his plans."[104]

Although the north was generally considered more open to Christianity than the south, it was not easy to enter Pyongyang, which had the reputation of being the most wicked as well as the oldest city in Korea. On Hall's fall trip of 1892, taken with the newly-arrived Presbyterian missionary Graham Lee, Hall had been able to purchase land and two houses. Samuel Moffett had been proceeding very cautiously, spending weeks and even months in Pyongyang, but always as a visitor. But when the Methodists obtained title deeds to property in the name of their helper You, Moffett the following spring bought property in the name of his helper, Han Suk-Jin.

These purchases proved to be premature, however. Shortly after Hall and Noble left Pyongyang for Uiju in April, the men who had sold the houses to the Methodists were arrested and imprisoned. According to Graham Lee, "Moffett tried to see the governor in their behalf and tell him that no foreigner had bought a house since houses were bought in the helpers' names. Nothing had been done in violation of treaty or Korean law. The governor refused to see Moffett....You was ordered by the government to return the deeds to both houses. Here was a pretty mess

for the deeds were in Dr. Hall's possession and Dr. Hall was in Eui Ju so You made out false deeds and gave them these...before long came the order that deeds in our possession must be returned. Returned they were...next, 20 unruly men gathered before our door. Moffett went out and spoke to them, found them friendly enough. They said they had nothing against us but the magistrate had commanded them to get us out and they were afraid to disobey. Moffett told them we would go for we did not want them to get into trouble on our account. This satisfied the crowd." The next morning Moffett visited the magistrate who "denied point blank making the order, but we believe he did. Moffett told him we had done nothing contrary to treaty and asked that the men who had been imprisoned on our account be released. The magistrate promised to do so as soon as we left."105 The two men returned to Seoul, but on May 8, Moffett wrote his board, "I am hoping to leave this week for another visit to Pyongyang, confident that our first repulse was only temporary and expecting to stay a month or so."

Foreigners still did not legally have the right to reside permanently or to buy property outside the treaty ports. Hall thought it best to buy land through Korean associates and openly move in. Moffett walked a finer line. As he wrote American Minister John Sill, "I have never bought property--never said to anyone I have bought it--had no intention of buying it. I furnished money to Koreans with which to purchase knowing that when purchased the house would belong to them, not to me, and would be subject to Korean law....I have never pretended to be <u>residing</u> here--have always said that I was merely here for a few months expecting to travel on to Eui Ju and Seoul, and to return another time. Have always referred to Mr. Han as the owner and land-lord of the house and I have stayed there as a guest....Of course my intention has been to continue these visits until we had won our way to the good will of the people and be accorded the privilege of residing here."106

William Swallen, who had accompanied Moffett on this spring trip, felt it wiser not to attempt to buy property until it could be done legally. He wrote Ellinwood on May 29, "The attempt was made through it all to keep from the Koreans that we had anything at all to do with the transaction, hoping that we might effect an entrance quietly....Why did we fail? I believed and still do even more strongly that to purchase property in that way is not to deal frankly with the Koreans....When we speak to each other we say that we bought property. But when we speak to a Korean we say we did not purchase....I am unwilling

henceforth to open any new station in that way until the Koreans are willing to have us come and live among them."

The board wrote the mission, "These transactions in real estate in a foreign land are most perplexing...and require great prudence, a thorough insight into the laws of the land, and a conscientious adherence to the Bible injunction to avoid the appearance of evil."[107]

In September and December 1893 Hall made his fifth and sixth trips to Pyongyang with his language teacher, No Pyung-Sun. One day a group of men came to solicit money, telling them it was the custom for every household to make an annual contribution to an offering to the spirit of Pyongyang. Hall replied, "We have nothing to do with your spirit, and we will not give it money, for we worship the true, living God, who made us and you, and wants your worship, too."[108] The men left but returned later and attacked No, who wrote: "When they were through beating me and let me go, I went to Dr. Hall and told him what had happened, and my heart was very angry. He tried to comfort me, and asked me if I had not read how St. Paul was beaten, but I said I did not care, that if I continued to do this Jesus doctrine my body would not last long, and I did not care about the good things I would get after I was dead, and I told him I would return to Seoul at once. Then he put his dear, loving arms around me and said, 'Let us pray, brother,' and we both knelt down and he asked me to pray first, but I could not pray with my angry heart, so he prayed for me....After a little the young boy that also got hurt came in, and Dr. Hall bound up his wounded leg and paid him for his torn clothes, and told us he was so sorry we were persecuted for doing right. After this I became ashamed of myself and got rid of my angry heart, and felt a good deal happier....Many people continued to crowd around Dr. Hall like flies around honey, yet at night the stones would sometimes fly like rain pouring, and we felt we were sitting out upon ice in the river. But God turned the wicked hearts kinder every day, and we were protected by his care."[109]

As James Hall influenced the Koreans working with him, Rosetta also inspired others, especially the daughter of one of Appenzeller's employees who as the most promising of the Ewha Girls School students had been asked to assist the doctor in her work. At 16 the Kim girl was considered a spinster and her mother was most concerned that an appropriate husband be found

for her. When the Halls suggested one of his converts, Pak You-San, "24 years old, tall and good looking, very gentle and modest in manner," Esther Kim relented. She wrote Rosetta, "Three nights I could not go to sleep and feel troubled, because I never like man, and also I do not know how to sew well; but Korean custom all girls have to marry....If our Heavenly Father send Mr. Pak here then I shall be his wife though my mother do not like him....I tell my mother, what use to find he is low or high (rank)....You know I will not get married to one who do not like Jesus word. I think it will be very queer if I get married. My heart will get very much different." Rosetta, touched by the note, recorded it in her diary, adding, "Dear Esther, what lessons of consecration she teaches me from day to day. I do love her."110 Esther and You-San Pak were happily married on May 24, 1893.

The following month, Rosetta confided her thoughts on her own first wedding anniversary to her journal, "It seems so strange that we have been married a whole year...it has been the happiest year by far of our lives. Doctor never tires of telling me how I have completed his happiness; he is so perfectly satisfied, and is ever expressing his great love in both words and 'in actions that speak louder than words'....If a year ago it was impossible for me to put into words my love for my Doctor, it is still more so today, but I can put it into actions better now than then."111

The Halls' son Sherwood was born on November 10, 1893, and six months later they, with baby Sherwood, his nurse Esther, and You-San Pak left Chemulpo on a small coastal steamer to move to Pyongyang. They enjoyed the trip until they were overtaken by a typhoon and forced to shelter for 33 hours from the storm. The small band of Pyongyang Christians welcomed them but soon huge crowds gathered, straining for a glimpse of the first Caucasian woman and child ever to enter the old city. Rosetta estimated that over 1,500 people crowded into their courtyard to stare at them the first day. Officials came also, muttering that if foreigners brought their families, one after another would arrive and take over the city.

On May 10, the Halls were awakened at 2 a.m. and told that their helper, Kim Chang-Sik who had been living and teaching in Pyongyang, had been cast into prison with Moffett's helper Han Suk-Jin and the former owners of their houses. Kim was in stocks and had been beaten and there were threats of more beatings if

the Halls did not send 100,000 cash at once.

At 6:30 a.m. Hall went to the governor, who refused to see him. Then he went to the prison; the Pyongyang Christian O Syok-Hyong who accompanied him was seized and imprisoned on the spot. Hall spent the rest of the day telegraphing Seoul and trying in vain to see the governor. In the meantime, hundreds of people continued to crowd in around the Hall house. At night stones crashed through their paper windows and Pak You-San was seized in their courtyard and beaten. That night the first of several telegrams from American Minister John Sill arrived: "British Consul General and I have insisted that Foreign Office order the immediate release of Moffett's and your employees."[112]

The following day Kim Chang-Sik was repeatedly beaten and moved to a death cell. The Halls feared he would die before being released. Rosetta wrote, "Doctor cries every time he goes to see him, it is so terrible. The reason he is treated so much worse than Mr. O and Mr. Han is because when they ask him to renounce the Jesus doctrine, he refuses to do so."[113] Finally, after a barrage of telegrammed orders from Seoul, the governor let the prisoners go.

In the meantime, Samuel Moffett and Canadian newcomer William J. McKenzie travelled night and day and arrived on May 15. The Presbyterian helper Han was still being threatened by the governor's servants who were demanding money from him, and Moffett's presence afforded him some protection. Rosetta Hall wrote in her diary, "Mr. Moffett tells us it is very fortunate the trouble occurred with Dr. Hall and myself...for it is U.S. policy to keep out of all religious and political trouble.... U.S. Minister Sill could not give Dr. Underwood a passport to come up here, and would not give his official consent for Mr. Moffett to come."[114]

Although the foreigners in Seoul were unanimous in their concern for Rosetta and little Sherwood's safety, they held varying views of the wisdom of taking a woman and baby to Pyongyang. Lillias Underwood wrote, "I am glad, for our Presbyterian ladies, I am ashamed to say, refused to go....I am ashamed of such pusillanimity in missionaries, but now, when they find Mrs. Hall isn't killed they will be more willing to go. I only wish the first woman to trust God and do her duty had come from our side, and not the Methodist."[115]

Horace Allen expressed the diplomatic viewpoint in a letter to Ellinwood: "The Methodists appointed Dr. Hall and wife to go to Pyongyang. Their house for years had been a notorious brothel. They bought it in the name of a Korean in violation of the treaty...everyone connected with them and Moffett was imprisoned. The British Consul aided by U.S. Minister took up the case at once and got them released....British Consul wrote a letter to British subjects--which was concurred in by Mr. Sill, for Americans--asking them not to use deception in getting hold of property and asking them not to take ladies into the interior. Pengan is the 'hell hole' of Korea. All the prostitutes come from there...the government handles them very gingerly and is careful not to oppose them in matters like this. Further, their governor is one of the ugliest Korean officials I know....It is almost a miracle that the Halls were not killed."[116]

Ellinwood's reply to Allen agreed that it was "preposterous that wives should go to Pyongyang," but argued that "the comprehension which most diplomatic representatives have of the ethics of this case is not quite correct. There is a vast difference between an Englishman trying to get a piece of mining property or buying a concession for a railroad, or even for commercial purposes, and a missionary securing land for a mission plant.... The missionary property is only one form in which we invest our own means for the benefit of the people of Korea. This ought to be understood by Consuls and Ministers...and by the people themselves."[117]

The Halls were enjoying an almost normal routine when Scranton arrived on May 23, to take Rosetta and the baby back to Seoul on explicit directions from British Consul General Gardner. Reluctantly Rosetta packed to leave, but she came down with dysentery the next day and was put to bed instead. She had resumed her dispensary work when another steamer arrived. This vessel had been sent hastily as a transport for Pyongyang soldiers called to help quell the Tonghak rebellion in the south; and the Halls left on it June 10. It was the last steamer to leave before the Sino-Japanese War broke out.

When the Halls arrived in Chemulpo, they counted 13 warships in the harbor; within days there were 28. By June 25, more than 5,000 Japanese soldiers were entrenched around Seoul. On this day the Russian, British, French, and American representatives met to request the Chinese and Japanese to withdraw. But the Chinese refused to go until the Japanese did, and the Japanese

refused to leave until the Chinese ceased intervening in Korean affairs and certain political reforms were instituted.

On the morning of July 20, Yuan Shih-Kai, entirely without escort, made his escape from the city to Chemulpo. Most of the foreigners, along with the Koreans, were glad to see him go.[118] Within a week, most Chinese civilians had fled Korea.

On the same day Yuan left, the Japanese Minister Otori sent an ultimatum to King Kojong giving him three days to accept reforms enumerated by the Japanese. The King sent an evasive reply. The following morning at 5, the missionaries and other residents of Seoul were awakened by the sound of gunfire. Two battalions of Japanese troops suddenly marched on the Kyong-bok palace. Japanese soldiers soon held all seven gates of the city, and after 20 minutes or so of gunfire, took the palace. The Japanese remained at the palace until August 25, though King Kojong implored that the guard be removed. They were withdrawn in exchange for a number of trade concessions, and replaced by Korean soldiers armed mostly with sticks. [119]

The medical missionaries in Seoul suddenly had to exchange their routine duties for the work of military field doctors. Battle casualties began pouring into the small dispensaries and hospitals. At the Methodist hospital, Doctors Scranton and Hall worked night and day. Scranton wrote, "Hall was called upon to be surgeon and nurse, druggist and steward, but he had a faculty for patient and tireless work...constantly at his post, when he might well have remarked on his own weariness, I well remember how he said and with what a genuine spirit, 'Doctor, how I enjoy this! I could spend my whole life in this way. It is so good to help people.'"[120]

But for most, it was a long and unhappy summer. Crowds of Koreans, terrified of the Japanese, pushed their way out of Seoul. The foreigners stayed, and in almost every home there was sickness. The Halls nursed their son, desperately ill with dysentery for weeks; the Underwoods' son "Holly" lay close to death, and the Vintons' three-month-old son Cadwallader died on August 22.

On July 22, a Chinese troopship was sunk in Asan Bay, some 50 miles from Seoul, with over 1,000 Chinese drowned and many taken prisoner. This was followed by a land battle at the village of Asan on the 28th and 29th of July, which the Japanese won.

One unexpected neutral casualty was the French priest Jozeau, murdered by Chinese soldiers. Although the Japanese didn't get around to declaring war on China until August 1, transport after transport of Japanese troops crossed over to Korea, disgorging their men, who began marching toward Pyongyang.

The Japanese were meanwhile pursuing a vigorous war of diplomacy in Seoul. On the 16th of August, Korea was forced to give notice of her renunciation of the Conventions with China, thus denying all claims to Chinese suzerainty. With this act, the Dragon Flag went down in Korea. On August 26, a Provisional Treaty was signed with Japan, making Korea a reluctant "ally" in the unwanted war.

Before the Battle of Pyongyang, most foreigners, including the Asian treaty ports press and H.N. Allen, thought the Chinese would win. Allen wrote that the war "was the first intimation the world had of the excellence of the Japanese military organization...we, who knew China well, had no doubt that when China's millions began pouring over the Yalu, they would shove the Japanese into the sea."[121]

A more astute observer was sharp-eyed Isabella Bird Bishop, who was in Mukden when the war broke out. After the Japanese had taken control of the sea, the Chinese troops were forced to march south to Korea through Manchuria and she saw that the soldiers, 1,000 of them a day, were "straggling along anyhow, every tenth man carrying a great silk banner, but few were armed with modern weapons. I saw several regiments of fine physique without a rifle among them!" Instead, they carried "antique muzzle-loading muskets, very rusty, or long matchlocks, and some carried only spears, or bayonets fixed on red poles. All were equipped with such umbrellas and fans as I saw some time later in the ditches of the bloody field of Phyong-yang. It was nothing but murder to send thousands of men so armed to meet the Japanese with their deadly Murata rifles, and the men knew it." Mrs. Bishop had been in Korea earlier and had seen the Japanese troops arriving; "every man looked as if he knew his duty and meant to do it." In contrast to the ragged Chinese army, she called the Japanese "a miracle of rigid discipline and good behavior."[122]

Mrs. Bishop also pointed out that "The Tonghak movement, though lost sight of in the presence of more impassioned issues, was of greater moment...and had such definite and reasonable objectives that at first I was inclined to call its leaders

'armed reformers' rather than 'rebels.'"[123]

The Japanese were playing a double game with the Tonghaks. At the same time they used the rebellion as a pretext to invade Korea to put it down, they were covertly making advances to the Tonghaks. The Japanese Minister sent an inspector to Chollado to assess the situation. He had secret instructions to prolong his inspection as much as he could and finally to report the rebels were still active. At the same time, secret agents were sent to the province where they contacted Chon Pong-Jun, the Tonghak leader, and tried to convince him that the Japanese were on his side against the corrupt and oppressive government. The Japanese also extended various kinds of aid to encourage the Tonghaks to keep fighting. Japanese extremist groups such as the Genyosha (Black Ocean Society) were said to have infiltrated Chon Pong-Jun's camp, hoping to provoke not Tonghak victory, but justification for Japanese military response.[124]

The Chinese held Pyongyang. Most of the Koreans fled, going to relatives in the country or living in mountain caves and huts. The men who remained were in danger because Japanese spies dressed in false topknots as Koreans had been discovered. The Chinese grabbed the topknot of any man they saw and "the heads of Japanese and Koreans alike adorned the entrance to the city gates. The Chinese soldiers were astonished to find groups of Koreans weeping before the gruesome spectacle. 'Alas!' the people said, 'how terrible is the kindness of our friends.'"[125]

Samuel Moffett left Pyongyang in mid-August. As he came down the road he saw the four-man chair of the governor lying in the ditch where carriers had tossed it when they abandoned that official to his fate in the general panic.[126]

The Battle of Pyongyang was fought on September 15 and 16, 1894. Two weeks later, James Hall, Graham Lee, and Moffett returned to Pyongyang. One of the earliest accounts of the battle was Lee's, who wrote that the Japanese had kept up a cannon demonstration from across the river in front, and while the attention of the Chinese was turned that way, two divisions of the Japanese army marched around to the rear of the city and got in readiness. At dawn on the morning of September 15, a combined attack was begun from three sides. Under these conditions, it was more of a slaughter than a battle.[127] James Gale wrote, with some literary license, that "The Chinese in hopeless confusion, fifty thousand of them at once, trampled each other in a

wild rush for the North Gateway, intending to take the shortest and surest route to China. But some one had lost the key and there was no egress. Back they came for the South Gate like so many beasts in stampede, only to be mowed down in all directions."[128]

Lee wrote that "The Chinese were armed with good guns, as the Krupp cannon, and modern rifles...but they were also loaded down with a lot of trumpery which was worse than useless in time of battle. As a trophy of this battle-field I picked up a large two-handed sword, which had a blade about two feet long and a handle about four...clumsy and awkward and absolutely useless as a weapon in these days of the magazine rifle and Gatling gun. Also scattered about I saw many bamboo pikes with rough iron tips ...and two lumps of opium which must have weighed seven or eight pounds....Such things showed that the Chinese army was several hundred years behind the times."[129]

"Some of the sights to be seen," wrote the missionaries of their visit to the battlefields, "were horrible in the extreme. The dead that fell near the city had mostly been covered, but those killed some distance away were lying all unburied. In one place I counted over 20 bodies literally piled on top of another just as they had been shot down. In another place where a body of Manchurian calvary ran into an ambush of Japanese infantry the carnage was frightful. Several hundred men and horses, lying as they had fallen, made a swath of bodies nearly a quarter of a mile long and several yards wide three weeks after the battle."[130]

The missionaries had arrived to find the city a Japanese camp, with hardly a Korean in sight. The Pyongyang Presbyterians had remained when "bullets were whistling and exploding," but after the Japanese began looting the area and forced their way into the inner quarters, snatching family possessions from the women's hands, they had fled to the country. Of Moffett's belongings nothing was left but a smashed stove and a few tracts. Samuel Moffett came across some Japanese soldiers sorting through the debris and carrying off the last of the wood he had laid up for the winter. Hall's property fared better; the Methodists had remained and a Japanese Christian doctor had discovered their presence, and at their request was living with them; an army officer, he was the best insurance against looters. Moffett wrote, "We were glad to meet the Christian Japanese quartered there and to realize that there is also a Christian Japan."[131]

It was gratifying to the missionaries to see what confidence the news of their arrival inspired. "From all surrounding villages people began to come back, coming straight to the chapels, with their little loads on their backs....Their houses are stripped of everything, (even) doors and windows are gone, used for firewood. Japanese merchants are in possession of their business places, while block after block of houses is a smouldering ruin and dead cattle lie in the streets. All is confusion while Korean officials and people find themselves in the hands of a foreign power...our little flock are scattered through many villages where I trust they are carrying news of the gospel....The city will not likely be reinhabited for many months or a year. This is well for the atmosphere is foul from the decomposition of the dead bodies of horses, cattle, and men slain in battle, many lying unburied."[132]

Moffett and Lee began cleaning up and repairing. They were able to buy back the fields they had been compelled to return the previous year plus another house. Lee returned to Seoul to bring back more supplies and money. Moffett moved in with Hall. A few days later, he was bedridden with malaria and dysentery and credited the doctor's care in getting him on his feet again. He wrote, "I thank the Lord I can still look after my work here....We wish to be here to do all we can to reassure the Koreans, to comfort and help them, and point them to Christ during these days of their trial and despair."[133]

Hall had more than he could do caring for the sick and wounded. The Japanese had field hospitals, but the Chinese had no means of medical care for their casualties. Hall used his own bamboo cot for a stretcher, and his fellow Christians served as ambulance staff. He even managed to re-establish his boys' school and held religious services each night with the Koreans, but this trenuous schedule took its toll on his own health. Moffett wrote, "We all suffered from malaria, and as this seemed to have taken a more serious hold upon the doctor we arranged to leave for Seoul by Japanese transport...carrying some 600 sick soldiers, who were suffering from dysentery and various fevers."[134]

Hall's malaria improved, but he came down with typhus fever. The men made it back to Seoul on November 19. Rosetta Hall wrote, "I hastily picked up our little boy and ran to meet him. He was too sick to stand alone, and had to be carried to his bed. Nearly his first words, 'I have known what joy wife and home are in health; now I am to experience what a comfort they are in

sickness.'"

"He would try to tell me how much he loved me, and that it was a love that would last through eternity," wrote Rosetta, who was seven months pregnant. "He asked after the little unborn one." James Hall died on November 24, 1894, at sunset. His last attempts to talk were to tell his wife that he loved her, and not to regret his going to Pyongyang; "I did it for Jesus' sake."[135]

Ashes and Bones

After the battle of Pyongyang, the Chinese-Japanese War swirled northward, where the Chinese continued to lose. In April 1895, the Treaty of Shimonoseki ended the war and began the building of the Japanese Pacific empire. In Korea, meanwhile, the Japanese waged equally ruthless warfare on two fronts, engaging the Tonghak militarily and the Korean government diplomatically.

The Tonghak general, Chon Pong-Jun, waited until the autumn harvest was over in 1894 and then called for insurrection against corrupt magistrates and the Japanese army. Tens of thousands of farmers answered his call; even the Tonghak spiritual leader, Choe Si-Hyong, who had counseled peace all these years, came out of hiding to encourage the rebels. Tonghak leaders in every province mounted 85 attacks during the following months.

After a major defeat at Kongju, Chon pulled south to his stronghold in Chollado, and fought and lost again and again. Finally he was betrayed to the government and executed. Choe Si-Hyong and his appointed successor, Son Pyong-Hui, managed to escape to Kangwondo, taking refuge in Tonghak homes. Choe, too, was betrayed and executed in 1898; Son lived on to reorganize the movement as the Chondogyo.[136] The Tonghak remnant ceased resistance and faded away to obscurity for another decade.

Isabella Bird Bishop returned to Korea in January 1895; travelling alone to Seoul on horseback, through a steady snowfall, she found Japan "had a large garrison in the capital, some of the leading men in the cabinet were her nominees, her officers

were drilling the Korean army; changes, if not improvements, were everywhere."[137]

A few days after Mrs. Bishop's arrival in Seoul, she witnessed a singular ceremony. The Japanese demanded that the King publicly renounce the suzerainty of China and take an oath that he would govern according to enlightened principles. Kojong, by exaggerating a trivial ailment, had for some time delayed this step which was repulsive to him, but he couldn't keep putting it off. The oath, which included a clause that Queen Min would no longer figure in political life, was taken in circumstances of great solemnity at the Altar of the Spirits of the land, the most sacred in Korea, in the presence of the court. "Old and serious men had fasted and mourned for two days, and in the vast crowd of white-robed and black-hatted men...there was not a smile or a spoken word. The sky was dark and grim, and a bitter east wind was blowing;"[138] a suitably gloomy day for a ceremony that was ashes in the mouth of the King and Queen and most Koreans.

The Japanese aim of "enlightenment" wasn't achieved overnight. One of the sights Isabella Bishop saw in early January 1895 was the heads of two Tonghak leaders, "in the busiest part of the Peking Road, a bustling market outside the Little West Gate, hanging from a rude arrangement of three sticks like a camp-kettle stand. Both faces wore a calm, almost dignified expression. Not far off two more heads had been exposed in a similar frame, but it had given way and they lay in the dust of the roadway, much gnawed by dogs at the back. The last agony stiffened their features. A turnip lay beside them, and small children cut pieces from it and presented them mockingly to the blackened mouths."[139] Within days, however, a decree went out abolishing beheading and "slicing to death" and such grisly spectacles were relegated to the past.

An edict in February ordered that rank should go to men of character and attainments; this decree was a popular and hopeful one. A more controversial sign of the times, for the Korean populace, was the tearing down of the ancient arch outside the West Gate where Koreans had received ambassadors and paid tribute to China for five centuries.

On February 12, 1895, Yun Chi-Ho returned home after nearly 10 years in China and the United States. Cultural shock hit hard. Writing in his diary in Chemulpo, he said, "I have seldom been as sad as I am....Welcome, ten times welcome, to anybody,

Christian or pagan, who may do something for the amelioration of the condition of Corea." He wrote that his hotel room, the best in the city, was full of dust, mats, and odors of the vilest kinds, and was furnished with an "ill-smelling urine pot, a dirty pan for tobacco ashes, and six or more blocks of wood of the ugliest shape for pillows," and that the only bright thing in Chemulpo was the Japanese women and children.[140]

But the next day his arrival in Seoul was sweetened by warm welcomes from his mother, Horace Allen, the Underwoods, and So Kwang-Bom. He was not very encouraged by his call on Pak Yong-Hyo, who assured him he would be appointed to office but warned him to expect to be merely a figurehead. Yun wrote, "I care not for office except as far as it may enable me to do good," and wondered what good he could possibly accomplish. In the following days he caught up on the family news, learning that his father, harrassed by Tonghaks bent on extortion had had to hide out in the mountains, suffering much from hunger and exposure.

His mother asked him not to talk publicly about Christianity. Yun replied that he must "remain faithful to Christianity and Christian missionaries that have made me whatever I am."[141] He attended the Methodist school chapel where a Korean was preaching: "His illustrations were too windy. Yet it made me feel good to be among the followers of our common Savior in my own country."[142]

Though many of the reforms being promulgated consisted of such things as shortening the length of pipes and sleeves, one genuine effort was to seek out talented persons for office. Yun remarked that "Everybody in Corea is hunting after smart or able men. But what Corea wants is not ability or smartness but patriotism and honesty."[143] Korea may have <u>needed</u> honest patriots, but it still did not much want them. Pak Yong-Hyo's tenure in office lasted less than a year. Homer Hulbert wrote that "It was about the 20th of August that Pak Yong-Hyo was brought to Seoul <u>incognito</u> by the Japanese...he had been treated with great consideration by the Japnese who rightly saw in him a man of strong personality, settled convictions and a genuine loyalty to the best interests of his native land. His worst enemies would probably grant that he falls below none in his desire to see Korea prosperous and enlightened."[144] In December 1894 Pak was raised to the post of Prime Minister. He retained the enmity of the Taewongun, however, and earned that of the Japanese who found to their surprise that, obligated as he was to them, he put Korean

interests first. Distrusted by his fellow countrymen, who believed him to be a tool of the Japanese, Pak was also disliked by the Japanese because he refused to do all they wanted. A contemporary wrote that he was "too honest a man to have many partisans."[145]

Though Pak had many enemies, including the Russians, he blamed Queen Min for his downfall. "The Queen had always hated Pak," wrote Philip Jaisohn to a missionary friend, "but could not do anything for fear the Japanese might resent it, but as soon as she heard that the Japanese were not interested in him she immediately ordered his arrest. However, Pak got away from Korea for the second time before he could be captured."[146] He managed by going to the Japanese legation for asylum. On July 7, 1895, he was hustled out of Seoul under an escort of Japanese soldiers and policemen, and whisked off again to Japan. He left warning his countrymen if they were not careful Japan would destroy them: "If Japan establishes a protectorate over Korea," he said, "she will eventually absorb or control the country."[147]

In August 1895 Samuel Moffett commented, "Korea will never again be what it has been. Each day sees the inauguration of changes which materially affect not only the outward appearance of the people, its capital, and the country but changes which radically affect the inner life of the Koreans."[148] But because the reforms and changes had not issued from the Koreans but had been imposed on them by the Japanese, most were bitterly resented. The majority of the Koreans, including the King, endured the situation, bided their time and appeared to accept the reforms, but there was growing unease over Japanese presence and intentions. Two foreigners who were deeply suspicious of Japan as early as 1894 were American Minister Augustine Heard, who exclaimed, "If Korea falls into the hands of Japan, God help us!" and English Bishop Charles John Corfe, who wrote, "To us who know the Japanese as they really are in Corea, it is strange that Japan should for so long have deluded European nations and governments into believing that she is a civilized Power, or desirous of becoming one."[149]

Queen Min never trusted the Japanese. She tried to undermine their control by seeking out friends among the other foreign nations in Korea, probing to find someone she might trust. Lillias Underwood wrote, "During the fall and winter of '94 and spring of '95 the queen sent for me very often, asking many questions about foreign countries and their customs, and chatting

affably....I think that in this time, when her nation's helplessness and weakness were emphasized, the queen sought to strengthen friendly relations with Europeans and Americans. She gave several formal audiences to European and American ladies, and all who met her felt her powerful magnetic charm and became at once her friends and well-wishers. Twice during that period the queen bade me ask all my friends to skate on the pond in the palace gardens."[150] During this winter, Lillie was able for the first time to speak to the Queen of religious matters. The missionary described heaven as "a land without sin, pain, or tears; a land of endless glory and joy. 'Ah!' exclaimed the queen, with unspeakable pathos. 'How good it would be if the king, the prince, and myself might all go there.'"[151]

Isabella Bishop had four audiences at the palace between January and February 1895. She sketched a memorable word portrait of the 44-year-old Queen in the last year of her life: "a very nice-looking slender woman, with glossy raven-black hair and very pale skin, the pallor enhanced by the use of pearl powder. The eyes were cold and keen, and the general expression one of brilliant intelligence....As soon as she began to speak, and expecially when she became interested in conversation, her face lighted into something very like beauty.

"The King is short and sallow, certainly a plain man, wearing a thin mustache and a tuft on the chin. He is nervous and twitches his hands, but his pose and manner are not without dignity. His face is pleasing, and his kindliness of nature is well known. In conversation the Queen prompted him a good deal.... The Crown Prince is fat and flabby, and though unfortunately very near-sighted, etiquette forbids him to wear spectacles....He was the only son and idol of his mother, who lived in ceaseless anxiety about his health, and in dread lest the son of a concubine should be declared heir to the throne. To this cause must be attributed several of her unscrupulous acts, her invoking the continual aid of sorcerers, and her always increasing benefactions to the Buddhist monks. During much of the audience mother and son sat with clasped hands."[152]

Mrs. Bishop summed up her impressions of the royal family as "simplicity, dignity, kindliness, courtesy, and propriety."[153] In contrast, she found the 84-year-old Taewongun "able, rapacious, and unscrupulous, his footsteps...always blood stained" but was much impressed "by the vitality and energy of his expression, his keen glance, and the vigor of his movements, though he

is an old man."[154]

The seclusion and narrowness of the royal couple's life is hard to realize. Except to visit the ancestral shrines they hardly left the palace grounds. The Queen told Mrs. Bishop that she knew nothing of Korea first hand, even of Seoul, except along the route between the palaces and the royal graves and altars. From this cramped vantage point she felt she must learn all she could of the outside world, the customs and ambitions of other nations.

An American diplomat wrote of Queen Min that "Men who knew her said she was not anti-foreign, that she realized the need of government reform and of adaptation to certain Western things if her country was to survive and live in peace with Western nations, but that she dreaded, in her inexperience, the complications so sure to follow. She did not know how to trust foreign nations. All she wanted was that her country should be free and prosperous and her husband a happy King."[155] And her son after him, it might be added. But these things were not to be.

No one knew the Queen's good and bad points better than Yun Chi-Ho. He described her life as a storm; her death a hurricane. One member of her court attributed 2,867 deaths directly to her orders.[156]

Annie Ellers Bunker, in a happier time, saw the Queen in a gay and mischievous mood. Shortly after her marriage in 1887, the young missionary was called to the palace by the Queen and instructed to wear her wedding dress. She was conducted into one of the Queen's private apartments and Her Majesty minutely examined each piece of her apparel, "even to the innermost." A week later, Annie was summoned back to the Queen's rooms where she found the Crown Princess in her wedding dress, worn at her nuptials a few years earlier, standing "as on her wedding day with eyes sealed, red spots on cheeks and forehead, and the hair on her brow plucked just right." At the invitation of Queen Min, Annie examined the Korean style of wedding dress, "even to the innermost"--and how the Queen laughed!"[157]

The King and Queen were increasingly chafing under Japanese pressure. Yun's March 20, 1895, diary entry read that "His Majesty has tried to induce the English, the Russian, and the American ministers in turn to deliver him from the Japanese. But the U.S. representatives told him that the Republic could not

involve itself in war with Japan or with anybody else for matters Corean." Kojong sat back to digest this disappointment, but Queen Min showed in a thousand small ways that the Japanese would never have her co-operation. Little by little, the Japanese came to realize that her attitude was and would remain that Japan would control Korea only over her dead body. Indeed, the prospect of the Queen's dead body became more attractive to the Japanese, as three successive ministers were foiled in their efforts to impose their will upon Korea. They were finding Queen Min more difficult to defeat than the Chinese army. Otori recognized his mistake in installing the Taewongun, of all people, to head a sweeping reform program; he quickly learned the old man was interested only in grasping power and purging his opponents. The Queen not only saw him very shortly removed again from government participation, but also managed to bring about the arrest and banishment of his beloved grandson, Yi Chun-Yong, in April 1895 on charges of conspiring with the Tonghak. Round one to Queen Min. Otori was replaced by the more astute Inoue Kaoru, who brought Pak Yong-Hyo with him in August 1894 to help inaugurate reforms Japan wanted and the Queen did not. But Pak was rather handily shoved out the following July while Inoue was absent from Seoul. Round two to Queen Min. The third minister, 49-year-old General Miura Goro was neither a gentleman nor a scholar. "By profession a soldier," he announced in a September 5, 1895, interview in the Japan Mail just prior to departing for Korea, "I have had no experience in diplomacy." Careerists "took pity" on him and offered advice, said Miura, but "I declined all their well meant offers, being content to rely on my own resources. I have a diplomacy all my own, which I propose to try in Korea." Even a pro-Japanese historian charged that Miura's appointment "was one of the worst of the many blunders which Japan committed in Korea."158

Horace Allen helped Inoue to obtain an audience with the King and Queen the summer before Inoue left Korea. In a report to his government, the Japanese Minister said he had done his best to allay the royal couple's suspicions of Japan: "I explained that it was the true and sincere desire of the Emperor and Government of Japan to place the independence of Korea on a firm basis, and in the meantime to strengthen the Royal House of Korea." He had especially assured the Queen that in the event of treason, "the Japanese Government would not fail to protect the Royal House even by force of arms...and their anxiety for the future seemed much relieved."159 Later the Queen privately asked Allen if she could believe Inoue. Allen assured her that Inoue

had not lied, and Her Majesty could lay aside her fears; there was no danger. "The Japanese had come to the conclusion that bullying did not pay," he asid. Later Allen was haunted by his own words which had given the Queen a false sense of security. Believing him, she did not flee when she could, as she had done in 1882. Although Allen and Count Inoue were innocent of duplicity, their assurances helped lead Queen Min to her doom.[160]

Almost Miura's first act in the capital was to insult the royal family by appearing in ordinary dress at a formal banquet. From the beginning, he supported Korean officials who were hated at the palace, and entered into a confidential relationship with the Taewongun. Within a month of his arrival, his conversations with the ex-regent had developed to the point of plotting the assassination of the Queen. But the Japanese had learned by this time that the Taewongun, though a useful ally, could be a very slippery one. They insisted on his signing a statement pledging to refrain from interfering in the actual administration of the country, and granting the Japanese certain commercial and political privileges. Not only the Taewongun, but also his son (Kojong's brother) and a grandson signed this extraordinary document.

The plan they agreed upon on October 3 was to attack the palace, take the King prisoner, install the Taewongun as regent, and kill the Queen. To quote the Japanese official report, "It was resolved that this opportunity should be availed of for taking the life of the Queen, who exercised overwhelming influence in the Court." The whole affair was to be disguised as a clash between discontented soldiers of the Japanese-trained kunrentai, who had been threatened with disbandment, and the palace guards.

At 3 a.m. on October 8, 1895, a party of Japanese accompanied the Taewongun form his home outside West Gate to Kyongbok palace. On their way they were joined by the kunrentai and a number of Japanese civilians, "hired guns" called soshi. Queen Min was given the code name of "the Fox," and the Japanese military adviser Okamoto who appears to have been in charge of the attack, gave orders that after entering the palace, "the fox should be dealt with as exigency might require."[161]

The palace was supposedly guarded by a group of trusted soldiers called the Old Guard, under Col. Hyon In-Tak who had helped the Queen in 1884. During the first week in October, however, these soldiers had been reduced in number, useful

weapons had been withdrawn and ammunition removed. Preparations had been carried out very quietly, but the royal family sensed impending danger. The King advised Queen Min to go to a place of safety, but she said she would go only if his mother, the elderly Queen Dowager also left, and the latter refused. One factor in the the Queen's decision to remain was Allen and Inoue's assurances that she was safe. These were deliberately reinforced by a traitor, Chong Pyung-Ho, an official the Queen had herself raised to power, who repeatedly insisted she was in no danger.

There were two Westerners in the palace the early morning of the 8th--General William Dye, a retired American soldier who was instructor of the Old Guard, and a Mr. Sabatin, a Russian temporarily employed to see the palace sentries were at their posts. Dye, 64, had been in Korea as a military adviser since 1888, and was described as "useless,"[162] "old and feeble,"[163] and "rarely sober, but a remarkable man. The drunker he got, the more lucid he became."[164] A contemporary historian wrote, "Neither of these men came out of the affair with enhanced reputation. General Dye was a very charming old man, skilled in growing apples, but of little use in protecting his Royal employers."[165] Dye himself had gathered a few good rifles and had even fished up ammunition that had been dumped at the bottom of a royal lake. But even this little arsenal of his had been discovered and removed before the 8th. If neither Dye nor Sabatin were very helpful in the dawn melee, they had very little chance. Their chief contribution was in being able to give eye-witness accounts which showed the attack for what it was, making it impossible for Miura and the Taewongun to pass it off as an intramural Korean army affair as planned.

When heavy sounds of battering came from the palace's main gate, Dye attempted to rally the palace guard, which was as he said "by no means perfect" in the best of circumstances. The front gate was opened at 5:30 a.m. to the attacking forces, which streamed in largely unimpeded, though eight of the palace guard were killed, mostly from excited misfiring. Many palace officials stripped off their uniforms and left the grounds; they had received previous instruction from on high not to resist the attacking force, which they had been told would be headed by the Taewongun.

One soldier who did resist at the gate was Col. Hong Kye-Hun. Although he was the commander of the kunrentai, he had also been instrumental in the Queen's 1882 rescue. The trustworthy, loyal old soldier was cut down at the gate and shot repeatedly. Eight

bullets were found in his body.

The ordinary palace soldiers, however, broke in such a rush that they swept Sabatin back with them to the gateway of the royal quarters, almost half a mile from the main front gate. All was chaos. As the attacking force rushed in, servants, runners, and palace guards rushed out. Another 100 Japanese soldiers came in over the back gate, while the Koreans inside were swarming up the back walls to escape. Japanese troops formed in smart military order around the courtyard of the King's house and gates to protect the assassins. The King, apparently in a futile attempt to buy time for Queen Min to make her escape, was bold enough to stay in plain sight in a front room. Some of the Japanese soshi crowded into the royal quarters brandishing swords and shoving His Majesty about. Palace women were knocked down, beaten, and dragged around by their hair. The Crown Prince too was manhandled. He was threatened by assassins demanding that he take them to his mother, but he managed to break through to King Kojong's side and refused to budge. Col. Hyon In-Tak, commander of the palace guard, had been seized. His hands bound, he was dragged before the King and beaten by Japanese civilians and soldiers to get him to tell the whereabouts of the Queen. Sabatin was treated similarly. About this time, the Taewongun arrived at the King's quarters and took charge.

Yi Kyung-Jin, Minister of the Household, had taken a stand before the royal apartments. Blocking the doors with outstretched arms, both his hands were slashed off and numerous other wounds inflicted, but he managed to drag himself into the King's presence where he was stabbed to death.

There were some 26 soshi, half of whom had been given explicit instructions to find and kill the Queen. These men and others ranged through the inner rooms, beating and shoving palace women in order to locate her. They accomplished their purpose within an hour. Yun Chi-Ho heard of the tragedy from the second prince, Kojong's legitimized son Prince Uihwa, the same afternoon. A band of Japanese with drawn swords "hunted after Her Majesty--killed two or three waiting maids with great cruelty, apparently to make sure of the Queen. They seized the Crown Princess by her hair, kicked her, beat her, dragged her forcing her to tell them where the Queen was. Refusing to answer, they threw the young lady down among the dying and dead soldiers.... In the meantime nearly a hundred women huddled together with fear--the Queen came in--She cried out that she was not the Queen

....The assassins kicked her until she was insensible or perhaps dead. Then the murderers dragged her to an apartment," forcing some of the palace women into the room with her. The horror on their faces was enough to convince the murderers that their victim was indeed the Queen.[166] Another account said that the Queen's last words were to ask if the Crown Prince were safe, and then a Japanese "jumped on her breast and stabbed her through and through with his sword."[167] The actual murderer was said to be Okamoto, who as military adviser had been on the palace payroll. No efforts were made to ascertain whether the Queen was dead or only unconscious; her slight form was wrapped in a silk quilt, laid on a plank, where it was doused in kerosene and set afire. The blaze continued until nothing was left but ashes and a few small bones.

110 Ibid., p. 36.

111 Ibid., p. 37.

112 Underwood, L., Underwood of Korea, p. 64.

113 Underwood, L., Fifteen Years, p. 56.

114 Underwood, L., Underwood of Korea, p. 89.

115 Underwood, L., Fifteen Years, p. 43.

116 Ibid., p. 42. Another intrepid Victorian traveller, Isabella Bird Bishop, had her own anti-vermin method when in Korean inns: "After the landlord had disturbed the dust, which he sweeps into a corner with a whisk, Wong put down either two heavy sheets of oiled paper or a large sheet of cotton dressed with linseed oil on the floor and on these arranged my camp bed, chair and baggage. This arrangement, and I write from 20 months' experience in Korea and China, is a perfect preventative." Pat Barr, A Curious Life for a Lady--The Story of Isabella Bird Bishop, A Remarkable Victorian Traveller (New York, Doubleday, 1970), p. 283.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

1 Allen to Ellinwood, October 28, 1886.

2 Ibid. Lee Yun-Bok in his book Diplomatic Relations, p. 139, states that Chinese viceroy Li Hung-Chang confided to Judge Owen Denny that it was Yuan who had been entrusted to carry out China's scheme in which the Peking government, urged on by the British representative there, planned to make Korea a province of China. The King, Queen, and Crown Prince were to be removed and in their place the Taewongun would temporarily rule until Korea was absorbed as a new province in the Chinese Empire. Allen disrupted the plans and may have indeed saved Korea.

3 Allen to Ellinwood, July 9, 1886.

4 Allen, H., Things Korean, p. 123.

5 Allen to Ellinwood, July 9, 1886.

6 Allen was apparently anti-Catholic in principle, but liked and respected individual Catholics. He wrote Ellinwood on June 20, 1886, "I have just brought one of the priests through a severe attack of typhoid. They seem very grateful, but disheartened at the failure of their ambassador to get the concessions they so much long for. The priests certainly lead a very self-sacrificing life in their native disguise." Even so, the Catholics' situation apparently improved from this time. Father Eugene Jean Georges Coste, a missionary priest who entered Korea in late 1885 wrote that "in 1887, when the French treaty was ratified, we were able to breathe the fresh air, and the cassock made its appearance in the streets of the capital. This date marks the resurrection of our dear Korean Church, which emerged little by little from its tomb, as the Church of Rome came forth from the catacombs," Korean Repository, vol. 3, April 1896, p. 151.

7 Allen to Ellinwood, July 11, 1887.

8 Yi, Modern Transformation, p. 220.

9 Ibid.

10 Lee, Y.B., pp. 195-196.

11 Ibid., p. 184.

12 Deuchler, Confucian Gentlemen, p. 216.

13 Lee, Y.B., p. 155.

14 Ibid., pp. 169-170.

15 Allen diary, October 11, 1885.

16 Heron to Ellinwood, April 28, 1889.

17 Ibid.

18 Lee, Y.B., p. 119.

19 Appenzeller to Reid, January 28, 1889.

20 Scranton, "Women's Work," p. 6.

21 Heron to Ellinwood, April 28, 1889.

22 An excellent study on the Chondogyo and Tonghak movement is Susan S. Shin's "The Tonghak Movement: From Enlightenment to Revolution," The Korea Studies Forum, winter-spring 1978-79, pp. 1-60.

23 Shin, p. 31.

24 Ibid., p. 32.

25 Weems, Hulbert's History, p. 246.

26 William Gardner to Ellinwood, March 30, 1889.

27 Samuel H. Moffett Collection.

28 Heron to Ellinwood, February 17, 1889.

29 Gardner to Ellinwood, March 11, 1889.

30 Ibid.

31 Thirteen-page report of the committee appointed May 31, 1889, "to investigate the truth of certain rumors afloat among foreigners and Koreans affecting the character of Dr. Power as a missionary," Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

32 Underwood to Ellinwood, August 27, 1890; L. Underwood to Ellinwood, July 30, 1890; Gifford to Ellinwood, September 9, 1890; Moffett to Ellinwood, October 20, 1890.

33 Rutt, James Gale, p. 16.

34 Allen to Ellinwood, October 28, 1890.

35 Underwood to Ellinwood, May 29, 1890.

36 Allen to Ellinwood, July 4, 1890.

37 Allen to Ellinwood, July 2, 1890.

38 James S. Gale, Korean Sketches (Nashville, Fleming Revell Co., 1898), pp. 250-251.

39 Allen to Ellinwood, August 13, 1890.

40 Allen to Ellinwood, July 27, 1890.

41 Moffett to Ellinwood, July 29, 1890.

42 Ibid.

43 Allen to Ellinwood, August 8 and August 13, 1890.

44 Allen to Ellinwood, August 11, 1890.

45 Moffett to Ellinwood, July 24, 1890.

46 Allen to Ellinwood, August 8, 1890.

47 Allen to Ellinwood, August 11, 1890.

48 Ibid.

49 Underwood to Ellinwood, August 4, 1890, postscript August 10, 1890.

50 Allen to Ellinwood, September 18, 1890.

51 Allen to Ellinwood, August 27, 1890.

52 Robert Townsend, Up the Organization, Knopf.

53 Gifford to Ellinwood, October 21, 1890.

54-57 Background on Moffett from materials in Samuel H. Moffett collection.

58 Interview, Richard Baird, February 1980.

59 Samuel A. Moffett, "Fifty Years of Missionary Life in Korea," in The Fiftieth Anniversary, pp. 36-49.

60 Moffett to Ellinwood, March 18, 1890.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

64 Underwood to Ellinwood, March 27, 1891.

65 Moffett to Ellinwood, from Pyongyang which he spelled "Hpyeng Yang," September 15, 1890; Ellinwood replied thank him for "Your good letter from an unnamable place."

66 Ellinwood to Baird, October 1, 1891.

67 Ellinwood to mission, February 3, 1891; May 19, 1891.

68 Gifford to Ellinwood, February 9, 1891.

69 Moffett to Ellinwood, February 11, 1891.

70 Allen to Ellinwood, February 23, 1891.

71 James S. Gale, "A Trip Across Northern Korea," Korean Repository, vol. 4, March 1897, pp. 83-84.

72 Ibid., p. 88.

73 Moffett to Ellinwood, March 25, 1891.

74 Moffett to Ellinwood, May 21, 1891.

75 Ellinwood to Underwood, May 11, 1891.

76 Allen to Ellinwood, October 23, 1891.

77 Allen to Ellinwood, February 23, 1891.

78 Heard to William Baird, copy to Ellinwood, July 29, 1891.

79 Allen to Ellinwood, March 25, 1891.

80 Allen to Ellinwood, February 23, 1891.

81 The Vintons were married just before embarking for Korea. In 12 years Letitia Vinton bore eight children; she died from childbirth complications on December 4, 1903. Four of the Vinton children died; C.C. Vinton resigned in 1907.

82 Vinton to Ellinwood, May 20, 1891.

83 Vinton to Ellinwood, August 27, 1891.

84 Allen to Ellinwood, July 3, 1891.

85 Underwood, L., Fifteen Years, p. 102.

86 Yun, Diary, vol. 2, October 23, 1891, pp. 223-224.

87 Fenwick, Church in Corea, p. 12.

88 In the summer of 1891 the University of New York conferred the Doctor of Divinity degree on 32-year-old Horace Underwood. Though he was highly pleased and honored, Underwood had a missions speaking engagement elsewhere and was not on hand to receive it.

89 Paik, Protestant Missions, p. 222.

90 Ellinwood to Underwood, May 8, 1893.

91 Underwood, L., Underwood of Korea, pp. 127-128.

92 Gifford to Ellinwood, July 22, 1893.

93 William Scott, "Canadians in Korea: Brief Historical Sketch of Mission Work in Korea" (1975), pp. 20-21.

94 Moffett, "Fifty Years," p. 38.

95 Fenwick, p. 92.

96 Gale, J., Vanguard, pp. 134-135.

97 Hall, S., With Stethescope, p. 91.

98 Rosetta Sherwood Hall, ed., The Life of William James Hall, M.D., Medical Missionary to the Slums of New York, Pioneer Missionary to Pyong Yang, Korea (New York, Eaton and Mains, 1897), pp. 129-130.

99 E.D. Steward was a Chinese gentleman named Eu Don, who had a long and close relationship with the pioneer missionaries. He had been steward of the ship on which Lucius Foote had arrived, hence his name "E.D. Steward." Foote persuaded him to enter his employ; Steward watched over Horace Allen's goods and house when the doctor returned to China in the fall of 1884 to bring his family to Korea. During the 1884 emeute Steward administered anesthetic for Allen on at least one occasion for an eye operation. "An affable person of considerable enterprise, E.D. Steward had run the hotel in Chemulpo where for years missionaries stopped," Hall, S., With Stethoscope, p. 101. He also established a grocery store which was the sole supplier of Western goods to the foreign community in Seoul.

100 Hall, S., With Stethoscope, p. 105.

101 Ibid., pp. 111-112.

102 Ibid.

103 Hall, R., p. 16.

104 Ibid., p. 112.

105 Lee to Ellinwood, April 13, 1893.

106 Moffett to J.M.B. Sill, May 25, 1894.

107 Benjamin Labaree to Korea Mission, June 21, 1983.

108 Hall, R., pp. 396-398.

109 Ibid.

110 Hall, S., With Stethoscope, p. 115.

111 Ibid., p. 116.

112 Ibid., p. 136.

113 Ibid., p. 137.

114 Ibid., p. 142.

115 L. Underwood to Ellinwood, May 28, 1894.

116 Allen to Ellinwood, May 16, 1894.

117 Ellinwood to Allen, June 14, 1894.

118 Only Isabella Bird Bishop had a good word on his behalf: "He possessed the power of life and death over Chinamen, and his punishments were often to our thinking barbarous--he was a Chinese mandarin!--but the Chinese feared him so much that they treated the Koreans fairly well, which is more than can be said of the Japanese," Isabella Bird Bishop, Korea and Her Neighbours (Seoul, Yonsei University Press, 1970. Reprint of 1898 edition), pp. 44-45.

119 F.A. McKenzie, The Tragedy of Korea (Seoul, Yonsei University Press, 1969. Reprint of 1908 edition.), p. 49.

120 Hall, R., p. 283.

121 Allen, H., Things Korean, pp. 245-246.

122 Bishop, I., Korea and Her Neighbours, pp.208-209.

123 Ibid., pp. 179, 183.

124 Han Woo-Keun, The History of Korea, trans. Kyung-shik Lee, ed. Grafton K. Mintz (Seoul, Eul-Yoo Publishing Co., 1970), p. 412.

125 W. Arthur Noble, Ewa, A Tale of Korea (New York, Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1906), p. 157.

126 Moffett to Ellinwood, November 1, 1894.

127 Graham Lee, "A Visit to the Battle Field of Pyeng Yang," Korean Repository, vol. 2, January 1895, p. 11.

128 Gale, J., Korean Sketches, p. 83.

129 Lee, G., p. 12.

130 Ibid.

131 Moffett to Ellinwood, November 1, 1894.

132 Ibid.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid.

135 Hall, S., With Stethoscope, p. 158.

136 Shin, p. 51.

137 Bishop, I., Korea and Her Neighbours, pp. 245-246.

138 Ibid., p. 247.

139 Ibid., p. 264.

140 Yun, Diary, vol. 4, p. 19

100 Hall, S., With Stethoscope, p. 105.

101 Ibid., pp. 111-112.

102 Ibid.

103 Hall, R., p. 16.

104 Ibid., p. 112.

105 Lee to Ellinwood, April 13, 1893.

106 Moffett to J.M.B. Sill, May 25, 1894.

107 Benjamin Labaree to Korea Mission, June 21, 1983.

108 Hall, R., pp. 396-398.

109 Ibid.

110 Hall, S., With Stethoscope, p. 115.

111 Ibid., p. 116.

112 Ibid., p. 136.

113 Ibid., p. 137.

114 Ibid., p. 142.

115 L. Underwood to Ellinwood, May 28, 1894.

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119 F.A. McKenzie, The Tragedy of Korea (Seoul, Yonsei University Press, 1969. Reprint of 1908 edition.), p. 49.

120 Hall, R., p. 283.

121 Allen, H., Things Korean, pp. 245-246.

122 Bishop, I., Korea and Her Neighbours, pp.208-209.

123 Ibid., pp. 179, 183.

124 Han Woo-Keun, The History of Korea, trans. Kyung-shik Lee, ed. Grafton K. Mintz (Seoul, Eul-Yoo Publishing Co., 1970), p. 412.

125 W. Arthur Noble, Ewa, A Tale of Korea (New York, Young People's Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1906), p. 157.

126 Moffett to Ellinwood, November 1, 1894.

127 Graham Lee, "A Visit to the Battle Field of Pyeng Yang," Korean Repository, vol. 2, January 1895, p. 11.

128 Gale, J., Korean Sketches, p. 83.

129 Lee, G., p. 12.

130 Ibid.

131 Moffett to Ellinwood, November 1, 1894.

132 Ibid.

133 Ibid.

134 Ibid.

135 Hall, S., With Stethoscope, p. 158.

136 Shin, p. 51.

137 Bishop, I., Korea and Her Neighbours, pp. 245-246.

138 Ibid., p. 247.

139 Ibid., p. 264.

140 Yun, Diary, vol. 4, p. 19

141 Ibid., p. 22.

142 Ibid., p. 27.

143 Ibid., p. 34.

144 Weems, Hulbert's History, vol. 2, p. 274.

145 McKenzie, p. 56.

146 Avison, "Memoirs," p. 147.

147 McKenzie, p. 56. Pak Yong-Hyo left his 12-year-old daughter behind in Mrs. Scranton's Ewha School. In a conversation with George Heber Jones, Pak said, "Christianity will inevitably become the religion of the Korean people. We need the the moral power and help which Christianity alone can give us." (Jones manuscript, "The Rise of the Church in Korea").

148 Samuel H. Moffett collection.

149 Harrington, God, Mammon and the Japanese, p. 249.

150 Underwood, L., Fifteen Years, pp. 114-115.

151 Ibid.

152 Bishop, I., Korea and Her Neighbours, p. 253. The Crown Prince at this time was 21 years old; Yun Chi-Ho wrote that a courtier of the Queen told him the Prince had slept from "childhood up to the last day of the Queen under the same cover with his royal parents." Diary, vol. 5, p. 9.

153 Bishop, I., Korea and Her Neighbours, p. 260.

154 Ibid., p. 256.

155 Sands, Undiplomatic Memories, p. 63.

156 George T. Ladd, In Korea with Marquis Ito (New York, Scribner, 1908), p. 284.

157 Bunker, A., "Personal Recollections," p. 65.

158 Longford, Story of Korea, p. 335.

159 Inoue's reports to Japanese Parliament, quoted in Weems,

Hulbert's History, vol. 2, pp. 287-288; McKenzie, pp. 57-58; Harrington, p. 262; and I. Bishop, p. 270.

160 Harrington, pp. 262, 266.

161 Bishop, I., Korea and Her Neighbours, p. 271; accounts of the Queen's murder can be found in Horace Allen's letters to the Secretary of State, October 10, 11, 13, 14, 1895; in Korean Repository, vol. 2, October 1895, pp. 386-392; and in vol. 3, March 1896, pp. 118-141, the official report made by the Korean Vice-Minister of Justice to Yi Pom-Chin, Minister of Law; I. Bishop, pp. 260-276; McKenzie, pp. 58-75, 263-267; and Homer Hulbert, The Passing of Korea (Seoul, Yonsei University Press, 1969. Reprint of 1906 edition), pp. 129-147. A translation of the official Japanese investigation report is found in several of these accounts.

162 Yun, Diary, vol. 4, p. 55.

163 Bishop, I., p. 279.

164 Sands, p. 49.

165 McKenzie, p. 62. Dye's explanations of the failure of the palace guard are in a letter to the Korean Repository, vol. 3, May 1896, pp. 216-221, and his response to Mrs. Bishop's remarks are in Korean Repository, vol. 5, pp. 439-442.

166 Yun, Diary, vol. 4, October 8, 1895, pp. 69-70.

167 Bishop, I., Korea and Her Neighbours, p. 274.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER V

1 Harrington, God, Mammon and the Japanese, p. 267.

2 Weems, Hulbert's History, vol. 2, p. 297.

3 Gale to Ellinwood, February 18, 1896.

4 Ibid.

5 Underwood, L., Fifteen Years, pp. 157-158.

Sam A. Moffett

Martha Huntley 1987

some think the best kept in the Orient. Dr. Irvin is now building an asylum for lepers, having secured a beautiful and well isolated site." Irvin was also credited with training two outstanding Korean physicians, Cho Ti-You, a zealous evangelist as well as doctor, and Koh Myung-Oo who became a Presbyterian elder and surgeon on the Severance Hospital staff.

But in 1911, when Mrs. Irvin returned from putting their son in school in America, she found herself literally locked out of the house. Irvin married his Korean sweetheart and resigned from the mission. He stayed on in Korea for many years in private practice, becoming a wealthy man. In 1914, after 23 years in Pusan, the Northern Presbyterian mission turned their work, which included 101 churches and preaching points, 1,887 communicants and 3,816 adherents, over to the Australian Presbyterian mission.

It is noteworthy that both Drs. McGill and Irvin were dedicated, talented, hardworking men. In ordinary circumstances, their accomplishments and capabilities would have outweighed their faults. But because of their problems in working with others, they lacked the balance that co-workers could have provided and their defects appeared more prominent. In other stations, weaker and less able men who worked as part of a team could support and be covered by colleagues' strong points and their achievements tended to be cumulative.

In striking contrast to the lack of growth and teamwork in Pusan was Pyongyang's success. In one sense the missionary story of Pyongyang is the story of Samuel Moffett, but in another, truer sense, it is the story of a strong team. Moffett was a man others rallied around. For one thing, he was likable. Southern Presbyterian W.D. Reynolds never forgot his first impression of Moffett who met him on the riverbank at Mapo outside Seoul when the Reynolds arrived on November 4, 1892--"a tall, lithe, fair man with a winsome smile, ringing voice and hearty handshake." He next encountered Moffett leading the dancing of the Virginia reel at a Seoul station Christmas party, and through the years the two men often met on the tennis court. "I can still hear Moffett shout, 'O Fiends!' when he missed a ball--a proper Presbyterian substitute for 'the Devil'....His is 'the old time religion'...his conversation, his speeches, his sermons, and above all, his prayers have always stirred, stimulated and helped me.[84]

Martha Huntley "To Start a Work" - 19

Moffett had the gift of encouragement. He saw and brought out the best in co-workers. In his correspondence with the board, he almost never criticized a colleague. In 1893, when the board secretaries specifically asked for his frank opinion of another individual about whom they had received bad reports, he declined, saying that in letters he could be too easily misrepresented.[85] In 1895, suggesting that praise would do more than anything else to strengthen and encourage the missionaries, he asked board secretary Ellinwood to commend a missionary's progress in the language rather than condemn his inadequacy."[86] In the same letter, Moffett requested "a word of commendation" for another missionary who "has been developing more and more in his power to use the language and in his love for the work and the people....I know what a help it is to feel that one's efforts to become more useful in the work are recognized and appreciated. Your letters to me have been most helpful and I thank you most sincerely for them." In 1894 when the board was considering the recalling of a missionary in Seoul, Moffett wrote, "As you know mission work is no child's play...each decision establishes a precedent. Is it any wonder that we cry out, 'Who is sufficient for these things?'...A conception of one's own weakness and ignorance as to what is best necessarily leads one to be cautious in writing adversely or critically of other missionaries and their work....Not every one who at first gives greatest promise has the staying qualities and some who at first seem slow and perhaps incompetent develop into useful workers under the discipline of several years on the field."[87] The missionary stayed on, and his willingness and ability to do many necessary housekeeping tasks as mission secretary, treasurer, etc., freed others to do evangelistic work.

Besides praising his colleagues, on a number of occasions Moffett pled the causes of those he felt had been in some way slighted by the board. The secretaries' unfavorable impressions were often the result of Horace Allen's venomous comments. One of several such misunderstandings occurred because Allen, in a letter to Ellinwood had *hastily, uncharitably, and incorrectly* characterized Graham Lee as frivolous, which prompted a letter of rebuke from Ellinwood to Lee. Moffett wrote Ellinwood November 1, 1895: "I have time and time again written of my appreciation of Mr. Lee and my gratitude of having him as a colleague. There are few men as true, as consecrated, as willing to endure hardness as a good soldier of Christ, few men as thoroughly imbued with the missionary spirit....The whole mission has the greatest confidence in him. Why are you urging him to do his

duty? We regard him as one of the strongest men on the field.... I know that your recent letter to Mr. Lee has pained him most deeply....I know that you had no intention of wounding him, but that your letter was written under a misapprehension of the facts. Please recognize his sincerity, fidelity and earnestness."

Moffett was consistent in his spiritual consecration and hard work. He was neither a dictator nor an egotist. He gathered his team not around himself, but around the common goal of building a strong Protestant church of Christ in Korea. Richard Baird wrote, "One secret of Moffett's being able to lay out the principles on which the church was founded and developed with amazing rapidity, and persuade his fellow missionaries to follow that principle was that the pressure he applied was not that of a mailed fist but a pneumatic pressure, which re-establishes itself. Moffett could always yield a point if he could gain his principle. Dr. Moffett would be the last person in the world to claim for himself any credit that belonged to other members of his team. Yet, as the captain of a really great team, he is given the credit by history for achievements and contributions of other members of his team, as the man who built up one of the greatest mission stations in the history of modern day missions he deserves and should receive all credit. At the same time, he is getting some credit for the years of tireless itineration in a rugged, difficult field by Charles Philips, for the fiery evangelistic zeal of Dr. Will Blair, for the plodding, meticulous faithfulness of Charles Bernheisel, for the educational work my father did in the academy and college while Moffett was building up the seminary."[88]

Presbyterian missionary C.A. Clark, who arrived in Korea in 1902, said many years later, "It is a bit amusing now for some of us to recall how in our callow younger years, (Dr. Moffett) used to talk to us and ask our opinions of things gravely and sincerely, just as though our views really were of importance. It probably did not help him particularly in making up his mind, but it was a great thing for the younger missionaries....He was the same with Koreans. His study was always crowded with pastors, students, or ordained believers who came to consult him about church or personal problems."[89]

Henry Appenzeller in a one-word portrait characterized Moffett as "judicious," and it is undeniable that Moffett had excellent judgment. His decisions on buying land were typically astute. He served on committees that selected station sites in

Sunchun, Chairyung, and Chungju and opposed putting stations in Uiju, Haiju and Kongju. Before there were more than a handful of baptized Christians in the area, he chose and purchased 110 acres for the Pyongyang station, envisioning the station that a decade later was filled with missionaries' residences, a hospital, boys' and girls' academies, a college, a seminary, a Bible institute, and industrial workshops. Although his personal funds were limited, he used them throughout his life for the work. He bought land in half a dozen stations with his own money, later turning the property over to the board as a gift or at the same price he had paid for it.[90]

He maintained good relationships with government authorities without compromising his integrity. Hoping to undermine his leadership, the Japanese tried to entrap him several times--in the Conspiracy Trial of 1912, again during the March First (Sam-Il) Independence Movement of 1919, and many times in connection with the shrine troubles. His house was repeatedly searched, but no case could ever be made against him.

Moffett focused his energies. A letter written in 1902 reveals his conscious decision to keep evangelistic and church work foremost. "The Bible Committee elected me a member of the Board of Translators and now I must for the second time face the question as to what is my duty....I want to do what is right and best --but for the sake of the Evangelistic work to which I feel the Lord has called me I have several times decided against the calls to more literary work and renounced my desire to become a Korean scholar. To accept the position...would mean less Evangelistic work."[91] To Moffett, evangelistic work was always capitalized, and took first place in his life. His early days in Pyongyang were spent in "soul-winning" conversation with crowds of men in his room and along the roads among the children and coolies and women washing laundry by the river. With Graham Lee, he founded the Central Presbyterian Church and kept it one congregation until it reached 1,000 members. Then groups of believers 15, 10, and 5 miles away were set apart in churches until there were 100 congregations, 27 of them in Pyongyang, and still Central Church had 1,000 members.

Judicious in his personal life also, Moffett remained a bachelor--until just the right person came along. To quote from Graham Lee's letter of November 28, 1898: "We have a new boarder at our house. Miss Alice Fish, an exceedingly wise young lady and a physician by the way. She has been in Korea about a year

now and was appointed to Pyongyang at our annual meeting in October. We have another boarder in Mr. Moffett and the latest news is that these two boarders have gone and gotten themselves engaged, which is just the finest thing that could have happened."[93] A few months later, the bride-to-be suffered a badly fractured leg when she fell from her bicycle. The wedding was held in Seoul in early June 1899 and a missionary wrote to Moffett years later, "I saw you when you were the happiest man in Korea. It was over at Yun Mot Kol, Seoul, on a beautiful bright day, when Dr. Fish, beautiful and radiant in her wedding robes and happy anticipations, stood beside you on crutches."[94] The marriage was a happy one, but tragically short. When his first child, James McKee was born on February 28, 1905, Moffett was 41 years old. Another son Charles was born and then a baby daughter, who died shortly before Alice, 42, passed away on July 12, 1912. Three years later Sam Moffett married Lucia Fish, Alice's cousin who had come to Korea as a teacher of missionaries' children. This also was a happy union, and produced three more sons, Samuel Hugh, Howard, and Thomas. Dr. Moffett, who was 60 when Tom was born, was a fond parent who admonished each son, "Don't become a minister if you can possibly help it."[95] Apparently none could help it, because all five became ministers or medical missionaries.

Moffett's colleagues in Pyongyang were like-minded midwesterners who were influenced by the leading evangelist of the day, Dwight Moody. They were products of small towns and colleges and most were graduates of McCormick Seminary. It was Moffett who was primarily responsible for the esprit de corps and the organizational ability which choreographed the talents and time of each member of the Pyongyang team, Koreans as well as missionaries, so as to gain the maximum benefit for training Korean Christians and building a Korean church.

"Work" was the key word. Not a moment ever seemed to be wasted in Pyongyang. When missionary Annie Baird in 1913 described life in Pyongyang station, she wrote about "the work," because the life of that station was its work. She suggested that to get a comprehensive picture, one needed a birds' eye view; as seen from above, station activities would look like "a great kaleidoscopic wheel, radiating out in every direction from Pyeng Yang, revolving with the year and showing more or less change with each month and season."[96]

September, the beginning of the yearly cycle, was the month

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a faculty member and the first president of the newly founded Presbyterian Seminary laying the firm foundation during his tenure from 1902 to 1925. Also, he was the first moderator of the Korean Presbyterian Church elected in 1907; two years later, an unassuming Moffett became the minister for Pyongyang's Fifth Presbyterian Church, the position which he served until 1936 when he retired and went back home.

Moffett's life as the missionary, strategist and champion of the reform theology for the Presbyterian Church in Korea is focused in this article. I tried to examine his directions in education, evangelism and social service, and more critically, what sort of problems he encountered in carrying out his reform theology and the mission activities. His reform movement was the phenomenal success in the annals of the American Protestant Movement and reached maturity in the 1920-36 period.

While Moffett tried to defend the spiritual character of the mission schools, he did that by his conservative theology; he had proven successfully in his works at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary as a faculty member and administrator. In 1920, with the promise from Mrs. Cyrus McCormick to provide for the main building of the Seminary, the seminary curriculum was changed to a three-year course of two terms each year, a fall and a spring semester. In the same year, a doctrinal basis of the seminary was drawn up and adopted, which reflected the theology of the majority of the missionaries, including Moffett. Adopting the historic standards set by the Presbyterian Church[1] as its standard of instruction in all essentials of doctrine and polity, the Seminary declared that it stood for the doctrine of the supernatural inspiration and innerrancy of the Bible; the Bible as the infallible rule of faith and life; the Trinity of the Godhead; the eternal deity and true humanity of Jesus Christ, the virgin birth, Christ's substitutionary atonement by death on the cross, his bodily resurrection and ascension and his personal return, the deity and personality of the Holy Spirit, the total depravity of human beings, salvation by faith in Christ alone, and the bodily resurrection.[2]

This doctrinal basis of the Seminary at this time was closely analyzed by Arthur Brown in his description of the situation of the Korean Church. In his 1919 report to the General Assembly,[3] Brown indicated that the Korean Church, like Korea itself, was passing through a period of transition, showing "itself in a religious ferment," as the Korean Church was exposed to "a wider variety of theological thought and Biblical interpretation" in addition to many secular interests. Brown said:

> Before the Japanese annexation, the Koreans knew practically nothing of the great outside world. The lives of the Christians were centered in their churches. The majority of the earlier missionaries represented a single type of theology and religious experiences and the imitating Korean Christians naturally reproduced that type.[4]

In the same year, Brown again wrote about the missionaries in Korea:

> The typical missionary of the first quarter century after the opening of this country was a man of the Puritan type. He kept the Sabbath, looked upon dancing, smoking, and cardplaying as sins. In theology and biblical criticism he was strongly conservative, and he held as a vital truth the premillenarian view of the second coming of Christ. The higher criticism and liberal theology were dangerous heresies. In most of the evangelical churches of America and Great Britain, conservatives and liberals have learned to live and work together in peace; but in Korea the few men who hold "the modern view" have a rough road to travel, particularly in the Presbyterian group of missions."[5]

As early as 1915, when Robert E. Speer visited the Korea Mission he had already found that the Korean Church had been

> trained exclusively in one theological view. Not only has it been protected from the modern critical problems and from what would be called at home "liberal" theological opinions, but every effort has been made to maintain a particular type and emphasis of conservative theological view. Even one who might sympathize with this view and especially with its great central convictions could not but be fearful of the day when the tides of thought with which we have to deal in the West break in upon the Korean Christians. Will they have been prepared for that day?[6]

Also, in May 1916, James S. Gale, a faculty member of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, even submitted his resignation. He was considered to have "less concern about dogmatic theology" while Moffett was apparently more sure of his Christian dogma by being "deliberately unchanging in his views and policies." Even though Gale owed his ordination to the ministry to his close colleague Moffett and even wrote Moffett as the hero of his *The Vanguard*, he disapproved of Moffett's methods of running the seminary. He thought "its standards too low, its teaching bad, its materials outdated, its student enrollment too numerous." Richard Rutt later wrote that the issue between Gale and Moffett had "eventually expanded into complex alignments of theological liberals and conservatives."[7]

Not only Gale, but also the Methodist Seminary challenged the conservative atmosphere of the Korean Church. That seminary, founded in 1910, started a quarterly entitled *The Theological World* in February of 1916 with Ryang Ju Sam as editor.[8] Ryang introduced higher criticism of the Pentateuch in 1916, enjoying "an atmosphere of complete freedom";[9] it was a challenge to Presbyterian theology. In response, Moffett countered by publishing *The Theological Review* in 1918 and placing the editorial direction under G. Engel of the Australian Mission.

In 1922, even the Presbyterian Church in the USA had to face the wider doctrinal discussions. Harry E. Fosdick, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New York City, contended that liberals are also Christians who could not be excluded from the Christian faith.[10] The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church USA in 1923 delivered a five-point doctrinal statement on biblical inerrancy, the virgin birth, substitutionary atonement of Christ, and the bodily resurrection and miracles of Christ. In the same year in an entirely conservative reaction, Gresham Machen of Princeton Theological Seminary became embroiled in the controversy by publishing *Christianity and Liberalism*, in which he argued that Christianity and liberalism were two distinct and wholly different religions.

21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid., p. 385.*
23. *Hong Ki-mun, "Chosŏn Yŏksahak-ŭi Songuja-in Sin Tanjae Hagsŏl ŭi Pip'an," The Chosŏn Ilbo, February 29, 1936, p. 5.*
24. *Op. Cit., p. 5.*
25. *Op. Cit., March 1, 1936, p. 5*
26. *Op. Cit., March 3, 1936, p. 5.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Op. Cit., March 4, 1936, p. 5.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Op. Cit., March 5, 1936, p. 5.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Op. Cit., March 5, 1936, p. 5.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Tanjae Sin Ch'ae-ho chŏnjip, Separate Vol. p. 389.*

SAMUEL A. MOFFET'S REFORM THEOLOGY AND HIS MISSION IN KOREA DURING THE MATURING PERIOD: 1920-1936

Jong Hyeong Lee

Samuel A. Moffett (1864-1936) (馬布三悅), was born on June 25, 1864, in Madison, Indiana as the sixth child and the fourth son of Shuman and Maria Jane McKee Moffett, a stock of the Scottish covenanters. His grandfather, Shuman, settled, in the early American frontier days, in this territory as the westward railroad stopped at the place where he engaged in a thriving dry good business. They attended the First Presbyterian Church in the town where a young Samuel began his preparatory work before he attended Hanover College. He was a superb student, majoring in chemistry, graduating as a salutatorian, and senior president. Under the influence of his college professor, Dr. John Baird, his original plan to pursue his graduate work in chemistry at Johns Hopkins University had been changed, and instead he went to Chicago to study at the McCormick Theological Seminary, where he was under the powerful sway of Prof. Thomas H. Skinner's didactic and polemic theology and even more profoundly, Prof. Charles Hodge's systematic theology. He equally proved here to be one of the distinguished students while embracing the foundation of his conservative reform theology. He was formally ordained in 1888 at New Albany Presbyterian Church in Kansas before he decided to go to Korea as his mission field. In September, 1889 Franklin Ellinwood, then secretary of the Board of the Foreign Mission, introduced him to John T. Underwood, an elder brother of Horace Grant Underwood, who was already in Korea as the first American Presbyterian missionary. He sought a strong reinforcement to help him in Korea by writing to Ellinwood and his successful business executive-brother, John. The board interviewed and liked the young Moffett, and so did Underwood. He was soon appointed and landed himself in Korea on June 25, 1890. Horace Grant Underwood was his teacher and examiner of Korean language and culture before Underwood assigned him, after consulting with the Board, to look after Korea's northeastern territory on the Korea-China border, with its main mission station at Pyongyang. In effect, he was appointed as the first American minister to the city's Central Church in 1893. In his ninth year, he became

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The so-called Auburn Affirmation issued in May 1924 with 1274 clerical signatures further proclaimed the "five central verities" as theories, and the signers were opposed to "any attempt [of the General Assembly] to elevate these five doctrinal statements to the position of tests for ordination or for good standing in our church." The Auburn signers attacked the General Assembly, for they believed it had attempted to commit the church to certain theories, and held that these five doctrines were "not the only theories allowed by the Scriptures."[11] The Auburn Affirmation raised issues in the home church and also in the mission afield, for there were missionaries who signed the affirmation. William C. Kerr, who had been regarded as liberal in the Korea Mission, was one of the signers.[12]

Moffett delivered a sermon about 1925[13] entitled "Charge to the Korean Church", which directly dealt with some of these issues. Some feel, he said, that "the church needs to be changed and revolutionized; that the old Gospel is not proper for the new age." But those people who insisted on preaching the new gospel to the new age misrepresent St. Paul, for Moffett believed that Paul, with his knowledge of philosophy and Roman citizenship, certainly would have been able to preach other gospels; Paul, however, said that he should be condemned if he preached anything but the gospel of Christ. Some thought, Moffett was told, that he was too conservative and that he should give up some of the old traditions, but he warned the church that "there is salvation in the old Gospel but no salvation in the new gospel. The church flourishes and sin is forgiven when the old Gospel is proclaimed, but not with the new gospel." Moffett charged the Korean Church to preach the same Gospel that it had received forty years before, which he delivered throughout the country.

Of the four Presbyterian Missions which worked with the Presbyterian Church in Korea, the Canadian Presbyterians tended toward more liberal theology. In 1925, when the Presbyterian Church of Canada merged with the Canadian Congregational and Methodist to form the United Church of Canada, the new body took over the field in Korea, and William Scott became chairman of the mission. He was considered to be a liberal and a critical interpreter of the Bible. He was joined by two Koreans who returned to Korea after studying in America. One of them, Cho Hi Hyun, did not believe the whole Bible to be the Word of God; he said that there were even some literary, historical, and scientific errors in it.[15]

Although the majority of the Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the USA was strongly conservative, the missionaries felt a spirit of unrest throughout the church in Korea, due partly to the influence of Bolshevik and communistic ideas and partly to the general development of the different theological thought prevalent at the time. The mission felt obliged to make a clear testimony as to its position, since the Korea Mission was working with Korean Christians as well as in union with other bodies in many institutions. The Korea Mission, in its annual meeting of July 1, 1926, felt the necessity of defining its position and stated belief that the love for God is the first and essential condition of any effort for the improvement of economic and social conditions, that regeneration is the first essential condition of social advancement, that the Scripture as the inspired Word of God is the rule of faith and practice. They believed in the miracles, the virgin birth of Christ,

Christianity as a life founded upon a fact, the second coming of Christ, the effectiveness of prayer, the supernatural character of Christianity, and they also affirmed the doctrines of the Shorter Catechism and Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church in Korea.[16]

Some part of this declaration was especially a response to social gospel and liberal tendency of Christian theology as a whole. Edmund de Schweinitz Brunner, a representative of the International Missionary Council, surveyed the rural church of Korea in 1927 at the request of the National Christian Council in Korea in order to report to the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council.[17] He also dealt with the burning social issue in Korea at the time: land ownership had been arbitrarily transferred from Koreans to Japanese in many cases, and Japanese owned over half of the land in some of the southern counties. In one rural county, 32% of the assessed property was in the hands of 120,000 Koreans, while 68% was owned by 8,000 Japanese.[18] The farmers, heavily laden with higher taxes and caught up in a greater modern economy, went into more and more debt and eventually were forced to leave their land. He indicated that, while the evangelistic work in Korea in the past decades had made a great inroad into reading its rural area with a self-supporting and a self-governing rural church, there had been heavy losses in the 1920s. Although there were other factors involved in the decrease in Church membership, he found "a close relationship between the general economic situation and the progress of the Church."[20] While Brunner found that the rural church had regular church services, Sunday schools, Bible classes, primary schools, night schools, Daily Vacation Bible Schools, missionary organizatios, and young people's societies, he advocated among other things that agricultural specialists should be sent as missionaries to train Koreans in this field.[21]

At the Jerusalem meeting, Moffett himself raised this question in his report that the churches and missions should pay a close attention to economic and social conditions. On the other hand, from the very outset of his missionary work in connection with the Boys' School in Seoul, Moffett sought to establish an industrial department to help students with their vocations. As early as 1898, he was the first one to establish the industrial department in his Boys' Academy. About twenty years later, he even had developed courses on agriculture, dairying, fruit growing, and the canning of fruits and vegetables in the curriculum.[22] As to the social welfare, Moffett was equally critical about the Japanese program for oppressing and depriving the Koreans' human rights. Also, in 1894, he appealed to the Board in New York to find a way to prevent opium traffic over the border between Korea and Manchuria. Even as late as 1928, Moffett, as chairman of the Government Relations Committee of the Federal Council of Protestant Missions in Korea, asked the Council to appoint a committee "to gather informtion on the subject of the importation and use of narcotics in Korea,"[23] and the Council did exactly that, and alerted the Japanese government. Moffett also brought to the attention of the colonial government the fact that "the harmful results of the liquor traffic seem to be increasing," and he requested that efforts "be made to protect the people against the physically injurious, economically wasteful, and morally destructive evil."[24]

Moffett was profoundly interested in the issues of social welfare in Korea. He

generally supported Brunner's report at Jerusalem but he personally also took up these issues in Korea. On the other hand, he also disagreed with Brunner's report on a number of statements. For instance: he believed that many of Brunner's suggestions were "based upon an entirely different conception of our Mission, of the purpose and aim of mission work" from that which Moffett held.[25] Moffett said that although they were living in a changing world, he stressed that: "what the world needs today is just what it [has] needed through the ages, the message of redemption from sin through the death on the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." He further held that education, reformation, social improvement, and industrial and scientific advancement could never change the hearts of men nor be the means for the evangelization of the world, and that such secondary benefits accruing from the establishment of the church could never be the basis for the appeal to man if the church were to be the Church of Christ with "a supernatural message which has power to regenerate men and to become the spiritual force in the life of people and of nations." He said that *the message* would transform men's lives and meet the needs of the modern world. Moffett firmly held in his reform dogma that their greatest and supreme need was for an unchangeable, steadfast, confident faith in God and in His word, and a conviction that the spiritual message constituted the preeminent benefit of Christianity and that, if they were to secure permanent results, "the appeal to men must be based upon this and not upon secondary benefits which appeal to the natural man."[26]

His reform dogma clashed with the views of some Korean theologians who had studied overseas. To begin with, the mission did not encourage the students to go abroad for study; many of them studied in Japan, exposed to liberal theology which dominated the church, in contrast to the conservatism of Korea. When these students returned to Korea, they brought this liberal influence with them. Kim Jae Joon, who originally studied at the American-run Aoyama College in Japan (which was thought to represent radical liberalism), went to Princeton Theological Seminary where he was further exposed to "an antithetical atmosphere . . . because of the violent cold war of theological ideas held by Gresham Machen." When he returned to Korea, he was not welcomed by the Presbyterian Church: he said, he "nearly choked" because of the coldness of the church to him, and then viewed the Korean church as "canned in orthodoxy."[27] Moffett believed anyone who had gone abroad before laying the firm foundation of faith and character proved not to be an asset to the church.[28]

In 1926, Nam Kung Hyuck, a graduate of Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, was another example. He was appointed as a professor at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, and in 1928 he became editor-in-chief of the *Theological Review*. Nam Kung Hyuck was sympathetic with and tolerable of Kim Jae Joon, and carried many of Kim's articles in this journal.[29] In one of his articles he contributed to the journal, Kim criticized the Presbyterian Theological Seminary for teaching "a fixed and dead article" of faith by means of "indoctrination."[30]

Pak Hyung Nong was another Korean scholar who came back to Korea after studying at both Princeton and Louisville Theological Seminaries; he also became a professor at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary. There he found that liberalism was increasingly gaining strength, and that various kinds of liberal theological thought

had been freely published in several religious magazines and translations.[31] He was a moderate in his reform theology. *Christianity Today* reported in 1932 that the Evangelical Fellowship of Korea was then organized to "resist any and all efforts to lead the Korean Church away from a foundation upon which it was established."[32] and to resist "the rise of modernism in the mission fields."[33] The stated purposes of the Fellowship were: to maintain a witness to the truth of the Bible and to the all-sufficient gospel of Christ; to withstand every effort towards the nationalization of the Korean churches and missions; and, in the conflict between Christianity and rationalism, to promote the preaching and teaching of the themes of the gospel.[34]

In November of 1932, one of the most influential works for understanding the direction of the Presbyterian Church was published: *Rethinking Missions: A Layman's Inquiry after One Hundred Years*. It was drafted by one of the able Presbyterian lay scholars, William Hocking, as chairman. Many people found that the theological presuppositions underlying this book were not those of traditional Christian orthodoxy. The Korea Mission of the PCUSA, composed of about 150 missionaries was greatly concerned over the report. They were particularly worried about all-too-friendly attitude and support that the Board of Foreign Mission showed to the report. The Korean missionaries were dismayed and said:

> The report has much in it worthy of careful consideration, especially in the latter chapters which take up the different departments of mission work from a practical viewpoint, but the theological basis has so little in common with evangelical Christianity and with the faith that brought us to the mission field, that we find ourselves in direct opposition to a great many of the conclusions drawn and to the suggestions made with regard to the carrying on of the work.[35]

At the conclusion of the statement, 106 missionaries in Korea, including Moffett however, recorded their affirmative vote, two recorded their negative vote, and 22 were listed as "not voting."[36] Harvie Conn contended that the negative votes and the abstentions might indicate to some real degree the strength of liberal sentiment in the mission at the time.[37]

By this time, Moffett recognized, matter-of-factly, some representatives of liberal theology among themselves: he said to the effect: "Most of its member have been men with a strong conviction that the Bible is the very Word of God, the sword of the Spirit, and that Salvation is in none other than in Jesus Christ."[38]

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea in 1934 saw "one of the stormiest sessions" in its 23-year history when it accused one pastor, Kim Young Joo, of denying the Mosaic authorship of Genesis and another pastor, Kim Choon Pai, of "relativizing" Paul's comment on women. Kim Choon Pai called upon the Church to recognize the role of women and their leadership and of harking back to "custom of two thousand years ago."[39] The General Assembly also saw a north and south split in the church loom up when five southern presbyteries threatened to withdraw from the General Assembly. For several years the church in the south had not been satisfied with the northern domination in the General Assembly due to the greater strength of the church in the north,[40] while those in the north

contended that the dissatisfaction was fostered by liberal groups of ministers and elders who tried to "break up the orthodox witness of the Korean Church.[41] When the General Assembly adjourned, it looked as if the southern groups would meet separately the next year and organize their own assembly.[42]

A. J. Brown said "Pyongyang was to become the center of the largest mission station in the world with great churches and 65,000 believers in the city and outstations" (in *One Hundred Years*, p. 414). In 1934, there were 5,000 communicant members in the Seoul area provinces, while there were 50,000 in a population of equal size in the area around Pyongyang.

By 1938 about 80% of the churches and Christians in the PCUSA mission territory were in the north, and about 75% of all the more than 600,000 Protestant Christians were in the north.

Moffett returned home from the General Assembly feeling that a crisis was upon the church — a crisis which might lead to division or which, if met in the spirit and power of the Lord, might "lead to a deepened sense of the Headship of Christ, of the unity of believers and of the preciousness of faith in the true God."[43] Thus he and three other missionaries representing three other missions which had connection with the Presbyterian Church of Korea called a "Retreat" of about forty Korean church leaders and ten missionaries "to earnestly entreat God to give to all members of the Church a spirit of forgiveness, reconciliation and love, and of mutual esteem," and "to study God's word together and pray over the situation in the hopes of bringing about a reconciliation."[44]

Twenty of the forty pastors invited came to the retreat at Chungju, November 8-12, 1934. Bruce Hunt reports that it looked at first as though the retreat would go on the rocks because some desired to discuss the issues directly.[45] In the end, however, they adopted the original program of prayer and Bible study.[46]

> There were many opportunities for discussion and an interchange of views. Men from the Southern and Northern extremes of the country went back feeling that they understood each other better and that the supposed issues were not fundamental issues at all but arose out of a long-standing quarrel in the Seoul Presbytery.[47]

Moffett wrote that every man present received a new vision of the possibilities of fellowship with his Lord and with his brethren in the Lord.[48] The Seoul Presbytery was not satisfied with the conclusion of the retreat and acted to cease all of its obligations to the General Assembly.[49]

Moffett noted that the conditions in the church were far from what they should be and that quarrels and division within the churches were common. He took another initiative to resolve the issue: he and seven other missionaries, representing the four missions, decided to hold another retreat and to invite all Presbyterian pastors. It was held in Chunju from April 27 to May 1, 1935, at the expense of the missionaries.[50] One hundred and twenty-nine pastors from every section of Korea and on all sides of the trouble gathered, along with eighteen missionaries. For five days, "they searched God's word and their hearts to discover His will and the hinderances that were in them." The church trouble was only alluded to, while the main emphasis was put on a loyalty to Christ and dependence upon the Holy Spirit for power.[51] Moffett was

one of the leaders of the session in this retreat. L. T. Newland of Chunju said that the pastors went back to their churches "with hearts knit together, their eyes washed clear of selfishness and prejudices, and with their soul's aglow for Christ and their unsaved countrymen."[52] Moffett saw "the quite evident presence of the Holy Spirit" in the retreat and thought that the two gatherings affected the whole church so that there was "good promise of overcoming the conditions which threatened division . . . "[53]

The 1935 General Assembly of the PCK voted that no man who held the documentary hypothesis of the Pentateuch was fit to hold office as a Presbyterian minister, and also voted to oppose the ordination of women as either elders or pastors.[54] The assembly condemned the one-volume Abingdon Commentary which was translated by the Korean Methodist Church on account "of the theological liberalism expressed within its pages."[55] They asked the Presbyterian translators and contributors to "issue a statement promising that they would retract the work they had contributed at the time of reprinting"[56] and advised presbyteries to investigate the faith of Presbyterian ministers who had worked on that publication.

The conservative forces, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, were engaged in preparing a new commentary on the Bible which they hoped would help to "strengthen faith in the Word of God" and which was designed to combat the "injurious effects of the Abingdon Commentary."[57] The General Assembly's committee for its preparation assigned to Moffett the books of Jude and Malahi.[58] In the preface to *The Standard Bible Commentary on Mark* written by Charles A. Clark, Moffett declared his own sentiments:

> The point of view in this commentary is what we commony call "conservative." The writers of the commentary believe the whole Bible to be the inspired Word of God, the only infallible rule of faith and practice. They do not believe that some parts of the Bible are the Word of God, while other parts of it are not. They believe that some parts of the Bible are of more value than others, but that all are equally true as written by the original authors, and that all parts are what God wanted His people to have.
>
> The authors of this commentary, moreover, not only believe that the whole Bible is the Book of books, and the very Word of God; they also believe that the system of truth taught in the Bible is well summarized in the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Catechisms of the Presbyterian Churches. These standards constitute the creed of the Presbyterian Church of Korea, and the authors of this commentary believe in this creed because they believe it is taught in the Word of God. The authors believe that the Bible completely sustains the articles of the creed. While there are passages in the Bible which, if taken alone, would seem to contradict parts of this system, these passages are always found to have an interpretation which harmonizes with the other teachings of Scripture and which supports our Westminster standard.[59]

This was Moffett's lifelong position and, more appropriately, his fundamental reform theology for the Korean Church which he firmly helped to establish.

Defender of Mission Control: The Relation to the Korean Church

> The Mission, as an agent of the Board of Foreign Missions for organizing and administering the work on the field, is not a permanent institution but a necessary organization in the first stages of evangelization, which aims to build up as soon as possible an indigenous church, which shall be self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing, and prepares and encourages the native church to complete the work of evangelization in the mode best suited to its own national genius.[60]

Thus the Manual of the Board of Foreign Missions of PCUSA for 1927 described the relation of the mission to the church on the field. As described earlier, Moffett helped establish a self-propagating and self-supporting Korean Church. He was instrumental in gaining permission of the four Presbyterian Boards to organize the one Presbyterian Church. When the first seven Korean ministers were ordained, Moffett handed over the position of pastor of the Central Church of Pyeongyang to one of them, Kil Sun Chu.

As to the relationship of the missionaries to the Korean Church, Moffett made provisions in the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in Korea, which he drafted. The missionaries retained their connection with their home churches and were subject to their jurisdiction and discipline. However, they became members of the presbyteries and General Assembly of the Korean church with the latter's consent, but not subject to their discipline, until such time as two-thirds of the missionaries should decide to withdraw from the Korean Church, at which time all the missionaries should withdraw.[61] Thus all of the ordained missionaries held their dual membership as members of the Korean Church and their membership in their home presbyteries, still remaining under their jurisdiction.[62] Thus missionaries could be and were elected moderators of the Korean presbyteries and the General Assembly.

After the General Assembly was organized in 1912, a minority of the missionaries took the position in 1913, through the Presbyterian Council, to withdraw their membership. The General Assembly of 1914 acted on this issue on request and decided to vote it down.[63] Indeed, a missionary was elected Moderator of that General Assembly. Some missionaries were not happy about the issue, and they did not bother to attend the meetings regularly. Moffett took the more open and moderate position saying that while the missionaries were members of the presbyteries and General Assembly of the Korean Church, it was essential that they should attend the meetings.[64] When some missionaries brought the matter up again in 1916, the General Assembly, under Moffett's leading influence, exhorted the missionaries to be more faithful in their attendance and participation in the General Assembly.[65]

Some missionaries wished to withdraw from the courts of the church and into the mission where they could not completely control the theologial seminary, academies, Bible institutes, and colleges. The Presbyterian Theologial Seminary was under the control of the Board of Directors, composed of missionaries, representatives

of the four cooperating Presbyterian Missions. Moffett took the initiative and the Board of Directors recommended in 1916 that the Presbyterian Council request the General Assembly to nominate three Koreans to the Board of Directors in 1917. It was an important step for the Korean Church to participate in the management of the theological education. The Board also recommended in 1916 that they take steps towards the selection of Korean members of the faculty as soon as suitable men were available.[66] In 1918, Moffett invited Kil Sun Chu, one of the first seven graduates of the Seminary and then the pastor of the Central Church of Pyongyang, to "deliver a course of lectures on lessons from ten years in the pastorate."[67] Also, for the first time in 1923, Kim Sun Chu was appointed as the first Korean Assistant Professor for the Seminary. Moffett made these decisions as the President of the Seminary.

In 1919, the March 1st Independence Movement imprisoned Kim Sun Chu, the Moderator of the General Assembly. Moffett, then the Vice-Moderator, was elected Moderator to succeed him, after five ballots, to ride out another great crisis of the Korean Church. He was the last foreign missionary moderator to this day. In 1920, the General Assembly showed the evident capacity for self-government of the church; for the first time, it elected all of the officers of the Assembly from among the Koreans.[69] The Assembly also appointed a committee for revision of its constitution. It was to include a section defining the relations of the Western missionary to the church. By this time the missionaries were being criticized because of their ambiguous position of belonging to two churches, yet not being under the discipline of the Korean Church:

> When the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Korea was organized, it became independent of and does not belong to any of the four Presbyterian Churches. How can you become members of the Presbyteries and General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea without being transferred from your home Presbyteries and Mission Boards? While it is natural that you belong to the Korean Church when you become members of the church, how can you say that you are not subject to its discipline? That is why you don't regard the Korean Church as brother or fellow church, but as savage or subject to you. So repent! Having begun in the Spirit, are you now made perfect by the flesh?[70]

Han Suk Chin, one of Moffett's early co-workers, often criticized the missionaries regarding their relation to the Korean Church: It was not right that the missionaries, while retaining membership in their home presbyteries and General Assemblies, acted as if they had the extraterritorial right (i.e., special privileges) in the mission field. Since they came to this country for mission and evangelization, they should hand in credentials from their Mission Board to the Presbytery in the area where they were to work and should pledge to obey the constitution of the church and to be subject to its discipline and to be reappointed by the Presbytery.[71]

When the new constitution of the church was prepared by the General Assembly's Committee of fourteen — eight Koreans and six missionaries — Moffett took the position of a matured realist with his persistent reform theology. He commented:

> So far the Koreans have been opposed to our severing our connection with the Korean Presbyteries and Assembly, but for the last two years we missionaries have been discussing the advisability of withdrawing, leaving the General Assembly to decide what, if any, relation should there be provided for. The relationship which has existed in Korea can exist only if desired and approved by the native church. It could not be imposed upon the church by the missionary body.[72]

The rise of nationalism following the Independence Movement caused the missionaries to discuss more actively their relationship to the Korean Church. Moffett felt that the desire of the Koreans was the key element for the survival and success of the Korean Church.

The new constitution was adopted unanimously at the 1922 General Assembly. It defined the relationship of the Western missionaries to the Presbyterian Church in Korea. The missionary should bring from the authorities of his mission a certificate of introduction in order to be enrolled as a member of a presbytery. When the presbytery assigned ecclesiastical responsibility to him, he would acquire the right to vote; otherwise, he had no vote. Any missionary taken in as a member of the presbytery should obey the ordinances of the church and should be subject to its discipline.[73]

When Robert E. Speer visited the Korea Mission in 1926, he commented on "the singularly happy" relationship between the mission and the Korean Church. The ordained missionaries were all members of the presbyteries and responsible to them for their assignment and work on the same basis with the Korean pastors. He found that as all evangelistic and primary school work was supported by the Korean Church, there had been no question as to the transfer to the church of the administration of foreign funds.[74]

On the other hand, Robert E. Speer drafted in 1926 a report evaluating the missionary works in Japan and China, in which Moffett observed that "not more than five out of forty Chinese in attendance upon the National Christian Council in China" were supported by the Chinese Church. The leaders of the anti-foreign feeling were the foreign-paid pastors in the cities. Moffett commented that it was a "pity to have the leadership of the Chinese Church so largely in the hands of foreign supported men, neither in sympathy with nor in touch with the real church and yet assuming to be the spokesmen for and the leaders of the church."[75] Moffett thought the leaders of the National Christian Council in China were not helping the church by elevating such men to positions of leadership. He hoped to see "the development of a few outstanding pastors as leaders of the Church, men of ability, spiritual power, and a conviction born of experience, with a program for building up the Chinese Church as a self-reliant, self-supporting church with enthusiasm for aggressive evangelism.[76]

When Moffett found in China that the Chinese demanded control of funds and powers of administration, he held that "in its present state of dependence upon foreign aid" the church was not justified in its demands. He said he feared "the danger that the control of funds and institutions fall into the hands of men who, lacking the spiritual qualifications for office in the church, yet have an education and an executive ability

superior to the pastors and elders who constitute the church courts with whom the power of review and control should rest."[77]

When he said that, he was probably telling his own experience in Korea raising these problems. While he belived that the leaders of the Korean Church were spiritually qualified to be leaders of the self-supporting church, yet he and the mission still held all the control of funds and power of administration of the institutions in their own hands, on the grounds that they were supported by churches in America. However, this situation also changed, when the new constitution of Pyongyang College, adopted in 1920, placed the General Assembly representatives, the alumni, and other Koreans in charge of the management of the college. Moffett, the president of the college, said that he was glad that the constitution was a necessary forward step and "at the same time safeguards our rights in the property and also the character of the institution."[78]

In the same year, S. I. Proctor, a missionary of the United Church of Canada, wrote in behalf of his mission: "The time has come when we should seriously consider having the whole of our mission work, including finances, handled by a joint committee of the Korean Presbyteries and the Mission, with equal representation."[79] He indicated that the Koreans, who knew the conditions and needs of their people far better than the missionaries did, had no voice in deciding financial matters, educational, and evangelistic matters."[80] When objections were raised that Koreans were not yet capable of handling such problems as came up in regard to policy and administration and that they only wanted mission money, Proctor replied that the Korean Presbyteries were as efficiently conducted as those in Western lands, and added, "We ought to rejoice that they can do without us, for if we have outlived our usefulness, we ought to be willing to leave Korea."[81] To be sure, he partly echoed the ideas of Moffett's autonomous church in Korea.

John Mott, Chairman of the International Missionary Council, visited Korea and held a conference December 28-29, 1925, with sixty Christian leaders. After he gave an address on the current world situation, he asked for a general discussion of the problems the Korean Church confronted to bring them to the attention of the forthcoming meeting of the International Missionary Council to be scheduled at Jerusalem in 1928. He found an improved relationship between the missionaries, and Korean church leaders was one of the topics.[82] In the discussion, it was found that the early missionaries and the first converts had been bound together by strong personal affection and mutual dependence through intimate personal contact, and that with later missionaries the preconceived ideas gained from reading out-of-date descriptions of Korean conditions, the self-contained activities of the larger missionary community, and the greater complexity of the work were barriers to a mutual understanding. The wish was expressed that the missionaries should become more Koreanized, following the example of Paul, who became all things to all men.[83]

Most of the Korean delegates praised what the missionaries had done for the Korean church. Han Suk Chin also joined them in appreciation of the contribution of the missionaries, and then added: "I think, however, the present methods of their work and their thought are by no means helpful, rather harmful, to the advance of the church." Pointing to the elderly Presbyterian missionaries, he continued: "My

deep appreciation goes to these missionaries who came to our country to work so hard as to get their hair gray. Now that they have done all that they could do, the best thing they can do for Korea is now to go back to their own country or to go to heaven." As Moffett rose to respond to this remark, Han was reported to have said: "Rev. Moffett, you had better leave this country very soon, or you will be nothing but a great harm to this country. Pardon me, but I say this because I love him and he has been my co-worker and friend from the beginning."[84] Han's biograher, Chae Pil Keun, further suggested that Chung In-Kwa, who was interpreting for Moffett, dared not translate exactly what Han said, but offered an indirect and a partial interpretation.

When the International Missionary Council was to meet at Jerusalem in 1928, the National Christian Council in Korea, meeting in Seoul in 1927, elected four Methodists and one Presbyterian as delegates. The Presbyterian members at the NCCK reported it to their mission meeting with a "feeling of resentment"; the representation seemed unbalanced. "If our church is to be really represented, or our view presented, some more adequate means of expression must be found.[85] With Mott's permission, Moffett was appointed at the meeting of the National Christian Council to be a coopted delegate without voting power.[86] Chun Sung Chun, a contemporary historian, writes:

> One reason the Methodists could supply more adequate delegates than the Presbyterians was that their leaders had been educated in America and could speak English. In fact, James K. Chung and Keung Soon Oh, two of the Presbyterian nominees to the Jerusalem council, were the only Korean Presbyterians who knew the English language. It is probable that this fact was the basis of their election.[87]

As early as 1919, Frank Smith had criticized Presbyterian missionaries in Korea, for not allowing Koreans to go abroad for education, and indicated that there was only one foreign-trained Presbyterian. He was named Pack, and was a teacher in Seoul.[88] Smith said that Pyeongyang missionaries, including Moffett, were "believers in the literal inspiration of the Bible — in the second coming — etc. They don't like Koreans to go abroad lest they become contaminated. At the best these men are only half educated."[89] Moffett found that there were seventeen[90] Asians, including Yun Chi Ho, a Korean Methodist, present at the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, representing and talking about their own churches. While Moffett himself had advocated the "world church," when he returned to Korea, he failed to prepare the leaders of the Korean Church for that world church.

Probably the first Korean Presbyterian who attended an international church meeting was Chong Soon Lim. Representing the Presbyterian Church of Korea at the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System held at Pittsburgh in 1921, he addressed the Alliance in his Korean language, with Herbert E. Blair, a missionary of the PCUSA, as interpreter. It was "the first occasion when a delegate" from Korea went to that Council.[91] James K. Chung, General Secretary of the Korea Sunday School Association, and a Presbyterian who was not even "a member of the Presbyterian Church in Korea"[92] attended the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council. He was not reported to have said anything in the conference.

The Korean Methodists, on the other hand, were active in the discussions[93] even though the Korean Methodist Church had been under the control of the American bishop since the Korean Methodist Church was only organized in 1930. The Jerusalem meeting was convened to consider, among other things, the questions of indigenization of the church, religious education, missions and rural problems, missions and social conflict, and missions and industrialism. In contrast to the Edinburgh Conference in 1910, almost a fourth of the delegates came from "younger churches," forty-two of them coming from Asia. The Korean Presbyterian Church was not prepared to deal with the situation as effectively as the Korean Methodist Church did on this regard.

On January 25, 1934, Moffett celebrated his seventieth birthday at the mandated age for retirement from active service. The birthday anniversary was also the date of his arrival in Korea forty-four years before. These two anniversaries were celebrated in Pyeongyang by the Koreans and by the missionaries; Moffett received messages by telegram and by letter from many friends all over the country. The Japanese Imperial Association even presented to him a gold medal for his "distinguished service in the cause of education" in Korea.[94] Although his health was good and his vigor unabated,[95] the retirement was obligatory. The *Manual* said: "Whether the missionary after retirement shall remain on the field or return to the homeland will be decided in consultation with the Mission and the Board . . . Beginning with the date of retirement, the missionary salary and other Board provisions cease, and the retiring pension begins."[96] C. A. Clark hoped that "for many years to come he may help guide the great Korean Church which he has helped so much in building."[97] He remained an advisor to every department of the mission work for Koreans as well as for missionaries. Probably he could not leave the work and the church, partly because he had invested all his life there, and partly because he was worried that the church would go astray with the wind of trials — politically and theologically — without his supervision.

The year 1934 was also the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the Protestant mission in Korea. The Methodists held a celebration in Seoul June 19-20, while the Presbyterians held a four-day commemoration June 30 to July 3, 1934. At the Methodist meeting, Ryang Joo Sam, General Superintendent of the church and chairman of the celebration, delivered the opening address. Helen Kim read a paper on "Methodism and the Development of Korean Womanhood."[98] The Presbyterian celebration, however, was centered on the missionaries. For four days no Korean read any paper for praise or for evaluation.[99] While the Presbyterians had 250,000 adherents in contrast to 60,000 Methodist adherents,[100] they had few national Christian leaders to listen to in the jubilee celebration, or else the jubilee planning committee did not have the vision or generosity to invite them. In the Findings of Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Korea Mission of PCUSA, with Moffett as honorary chairman of the commission, issued in 1934, spelled out its fourteen findings which stated reaffirmed Moffett's original reform positions in Korea:

> Rejoicing in the independent self-government of the Korean Church and its response to the principle of self-support, we recognize that more and more the government, control, and support of the mission institutions should become the responsibility of the Church,

> and we record our readiness to transfer these institutions to Korean control just as rapidly as proves to be possible and wise and desirable. To the accomplishment of this we favor the appointment of Korean members on the Board of Directors of these institutions[101].

In 1935, after thirty-five years of teaching in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Moffett wanted to be "relieved of further service because of the many changes in the language" and of his own "loss of keenness of hearing." But he felt as Chairman of the Board of Directors he could continue "in touch with the work and problems of the Seminary."[102] As President of the Board of Trustees and member of the Executive Committee of the Union Christian College, he helped McCune operate the college. Moffett had the oversight of the Eastern circuit of thirty-four[103] churches. As their "founder," he had the oversight of the fifty primary schools of his station. He said he tried to "transfer the leadership to local pastors, elders or patrons of the schools" but the Koreans were often loath to take the responsibilities involved.

Defender of the Faith: Shrine Issue

With the victory over China and Russia in two wars, the Japanese government felt the need for a state religion, and in 1911 issued orders that all primary school pupils throughout Japan should attend the shrines. When they declared war on Germany in August of 1914, the Japanese government commanded the Japanese to offer the prayer for victory and speedy restoration of peace at all the 49,000 shrines in Japan. While the government encouraged shrine worship, it did not force such worship immediately, partly because the Christians opposed it and the Buddhists did not like it, and partly because the constitution of the country guaranteed religious freedom.[104] In the early 1930s, with a revival of Japanese militarism and "the spirit of Japan," Japanese expansion policy to Chinese mainland saw the revival of Shintoism and they established in every town in Japan the "Shinto Shrine," which was dedicated to the Sun-goddess, Amaterasu, who was believed to be the ancestor of the Japanese Emperor, and they obligated all children to worship at the shrine.[105]

In Korea, there had been few Shinto shrines before 1930. After that, the Japanese colonial government ordered Shinto shrines to be erected all over Korea. At the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea in 1932, an action was taken that the Japanese authorities should be advised that "students of church schools shall not attend the shrine worship and other ceremonies." The General Assembly also appointed a committee of S. A. Moffett, Cha Jae Myeng, and Yu Ik Kyeom to communicate with the government on the action of the Assembly.[106] There was some relief. When a new Shinto shrine was erected in Pyongyang in 1935 on a high hill inside the wall, government officials and government school children were required to attend the ceremonies, but the public and pupils in private schools were not forced to attend. On November 14, 1935, the Governor at Pyongyang invited George S. McCune, president of the Union Christian College and principal of the Pyongyang Boys' Academy (Korean name Soong Sil) and Miss Velma L. Snook, principal of the Pyongyang Girls' Academy (Soong Eui) to attend in his office the usual conference of educational leaders of the province. At the opening of the conference,

the Governor suggested that they should go by car to the new Shinto shrine to worship. McCune asked the Governor to excuse him and Miss Snook because it was impossible for them as Christians to take part. McCune was angrily ordered home and given sixty days to reconsider and comply or lose his permit to teach.[107]

McCune and Snook informed the missionaries in Pyongyang of what had happened, and also the Executive Committee of the mission. They called a meeting the pastors of the twenty-seven Presbyterian churches in the city for advice. All but one of the pastors urged them to refuse to go to the shrine, no matter what might happen. Worship of deified spirits seemed to them contrary to God's commandments; they asked the missionaries to protect the faith of the church. McCune received "A warning to Dr. G. S. McCune" on December 31, 1935 from the Government-General. It emphasized shrine worship as essential to the national moral virtue from the point of view of national education, and urged McCune to go himself to make obeisance at the shrine and to cause his students to do the same.[108]

While the "warning" indicated that the ceremonies were "no less than the actual practice of reverence and respect for ancestors," McCune and Moffett realized that since the Korean Church had from the beginning taken a very strong stand against ancestor worship in any form, it would require a much stronger statement and a much clearer explanation of the shrine than the government made before the Christian conscience would allow the members of the church to bow before it. Final discussion went on among Moffett, founder of the seminary, college, and academy, G. S. McCune, president of the college and principal of the boys' academy, and S. L. Roberts, president of the seminary. They reached the conclusion that they would refuse to make obeisance even though they might be forced to close the schools.[109]

On January 16, 1936, the Governor of South Pyong An Province invited McCune and Moffett to his office and gave them the ultimatum that by January 18 McCune should make an official answer to the two questions:"Will you go yourself and do obeisance at the shrine?" and "Will you cause your teachers and students to go and make obeisance?" The answer was clear to him. In the letter of reply, McCune indicated that obeisance at the shrine was "a matter concerning which each individual conscience must be convinced before it is possible for one to perform that act without compromising sincere religious convictions." Further, he declared that he was unable to perform the act which was required of him as a school principal.[110] As a result, on January 20, 1936, both McCune and Snook were notified that their educational qualifications were revoked. The Governor asked Moffett to appoint another president and other principals of the institutions. While Moffett was trying to negotiate, a Korean educator and Miss Olivette R. Swallen were appointed to take charge of the academies, and Eli Mowry was accepted by the government as the president of the college.[111]

There had been individual cases of teachers who were imprisioned or deprived of their teaching certificates, and of students who were expelled from school or even imprisoned. McCune and Moffett were threatened by members of a fanatically nationalistic organization of Japanese ex-soldiers. Bruce Hunt said that police "protection" seemed designed more to hamper the movements of the two missionaries.[112] Police "guarded" McCune's gate and front door and examined and even abused

all Korean visitors who approached the house. He was followed by the police wherever he went.[113] He finally was unable to endure the pressure, and left Korea after three months.[114]

For Moffett, the shrine issue was "a most unexpected experience and trying situation." It was related to "the question of the very existence" of their college and academies. It occupied the time and thought of a number of missionaries and interfered with other activities. Moffett and others met "daily for months in prayer that the Lord would lead" them to a solution of the problem which would maintain the spirituality of the Korean Church and of their schools. He said: "The Lord God omnipotent reigneth and our hope and our trust are in Him."[115] In spite of his strong trust in God, Moffett was physically unable to retain the position of the "founder" of the schools and president of the Board of the seminary. The shrine issue had further exhausted him. He resigned both positions.[116]

The Annual Meeting of the Korea Mission of PCUSA was to be held in Seoul in June 1936. In order to get permission from the government to meet, the members of the Executive Committee had to sign a pledge that the shrine question would not be discussed. Two detectives were present at every session and committee meeting. The Japanese government maintained that the shrine question was closed. All schools had to go to the shrine and do obeisance. Faced with this situation, the mission, on July 1, 1936, took the following action, making no definite reference to the shrine issue:

> Recognizing the increasing difficulties of maintaining our mission schools and also of preserving in them the full purposes and ideals with which they were founded, we recommend that the Mission approve the policy of retiring from the field of secular education . . . To do this in an orderly manner will require some time; it will also involve the questions of the future management of the schools and of the use or disposal of the property.[117]

This was adopted by a vote of sixty-nine to sixteen. It was to show to the authorities the strong determination of the mission to avoid doing obeisance at the shrine. For everyone, the most critical question was how the future leaders of the church could be properly trained. The mission, according to Archibald Campbell, felt that it could not say: "Let us do evil that good may come."[118] The action was taken in hope that the general order to do obeisance at the shrine would not be given to all the schools. The mission believed that the Japanese government "appreciated and needed" the mission schools and wanted them continued. According to Blair, it was understood by the mission and the Japanese that the mission would not take actual steps to close any school unless and until the students and teachers of that school were ordered to go to the shrines.[119]

Within a few weeks of this action, the government ordered all the students and teachers of the Pyongyang College and academies to attend shrine ceremonies on a definite day. They were forced to march to the shrine and to bow before it. At once the Boards of Directors of these schools met to vote unanimously to close the schools.[120]

Moffett and McCune took on their reform theology upholding the Korean Church

missions firmly and steadfastly. Moffett, however, could take the strain no longer. His health became worse. In October of 1936 he left for the United States to stay there for five months to restore his health.[121]

Four of the Moffetts' five sons were there in America at that time. The first son, James, was working at the Home Mission Board in Pennsylvania.[122] The second son, Charles, married in April of 1936, graduated from the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of Chicago, was ordained by his father's old presbytery (New Albany), and was working in a home mission field in North Dakota. He had applied to the Foreign Mission Board for an appointment. Samuel and Howard, the third and fourth sons, were both at Wheaton College. Samuel was ranked first in a class of 220 and was just elected as editor of the "Tower," the college annual, while Howard ranked 27th in a class of 336. Both were also athletes, playing in soccer, basketball and tennis. Moffett was convincingly satisfied with his sons.[123] Mrs. Lucia F. Moffett had been teaching in the Pyongyang Foreign School, conjugating in Latin and teaching Latin and English in the Sungui High School (or Women's Higher Bible School).

When Moffett arrived in America, the Board of Foreign Missions voted that "the Board can have no other thought than closing of the schools if the only way of maintaining them is by an unworthy compromise of Christian principles."[125] The Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (the Southern Presbyterians) took a similar action. Its Executive Secretary, Darby Fulton, issued a lengthy statement on the question.[126] The Pyongyang schools were finally closed in March of 1938. Other schools followed, leaving many students without access to Christian education. Otherwise, they were left to the government schools.[127]

When the government ordered the children in private schools to go to the shrines, it was understood that the regulations applied only to educational institutions. Soon, however, individuals, including pastors and elders, were pressed to attend the shrines, or were arrested and imprisoned. When the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was to be held in September of 1938, all of the nearly four hundred delegates were summoned to their local police offices in advance. Under threat of imprisonment, they were instructed to vote for the motion approving shrine worship. The police even escorted the delegates to Pyongyang, their meeting place. With the Chief of Police of Pyongyang City and Province, and with uniformed and armed officers guarding and surrounding the session, the motion approving the shrine worship was carried.[128] The delegates to the Assembly were led to the shrine to do obeisance.

The closure of the schools from the primary to the college and the subsequent capitulation of the Korean General Assembly over the shrine worship apparently aggravated Moffett's ill health of old age. He died on October 24, 1939. The seeds he had deeply implanted in Korea have taken strong roots and the firm foundation of the faith on which he had insisted kept the Presbyterian Church strong throughout the period of Japanese colonial domination and 1930's oppression. Korea was finally liberated in 1945 at the end of World War II, and the Korean churches were completely restored and revived with a new vitality, vigor, creative energy and triumph which Moffett's reform theology and mission laid for the development of the Korean churches.

FOOTNOTES

1. They are the Confession of Foith, the Catechisms, the Form of Government, Book of Discipline, and the Directory for Worship. **Catalogue of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary af Korea** (Pyeongyang: PTS, June 1923). p. 13.

2. **Ibid.**

3. Arthur Brown, **The Report of the Board of Foreign Missions af the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. Henceforth, The Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of PCUSA will be used.**

4. **The Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of PCUSA, 1919, p. 27.**

5. Arthur J. Brown, **The Mastery of the Far East** (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons, 1936).

6. Robert E. Speer, **Report af Deputation Sent by the Board of Fareign Missions of PCUSA in the Summer of 1915** (New York: Board of Foreign Missions PCUSA, 1916), p. 365.

7. Richard Rutt, **James Scarth Gale and his History of the Korean People** (Seoul: Asiatic Society Korea Branch, 1972), p. 60.

8. R.A. Hardie, "The Theological World's Outlook and Aim," **Korea Mission Field, 14 (July 1918),** p. 148.

9. Tong Shik Ryu, "Rough Road to Theological Maturity," **Asian Voices in Christian Theology,** p. 163.

10. Lefferts A. Loetscher, **The Broadening Church** (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954), pp. 108-109.

11. **Ibid.**, pp. 117-118; J. Gresham Machen, **Modernism and the Board of Foreign Missions of PCUSA,** (New Brunswick: Presbytery of New Brunswick, 1933) pp. 10-26; Carl McIntire, **Dr. Robert E. Speer, The Baard af Foreign Missions of PCUSA and Modernism,** January 15, 1935.

12. B.F. Hunt, "Trials Within and Without," **The Presbyterian Guardian,** No. 29, (25 February, 1960), p. 37.

13. The sermon is included in **Sermons by the Moderators of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Korea 1912-1972** (Seoul: Presbyterian Church in Korea, General Assembly Department of Education, 1972), pp. 53-56. He was Moderator of the GA in 1919-1920. But the content of the sermon indicates it was delivered in 1925, for he said the gospel which was preached 40 years before, which means the date of his preaching was 40 years after 1885, when the first ordained missionary entered Korea. While the retiring Moderator delivered a sermon to the General Assembly, Moffett was in America on furlough at the time of the General Assembly when he was to retire. He did not have a chance to preach.

14. Samuel A. Moffett, "Charge to the Korean Church" **Sermons by the Moderators of the General Assembly af the Presbyterian Church of Korea, 1912-1972** (Seoul: Department of Christian Education, General Assembly of Presbyterian Church, 1972), p. 55.

15. When he was asked in 1926 by one attendant at the Bible Institute how a merciful God permitted the destruction of the Amalekites and of Jericho. Scott said it was "an example of Israelish prejudice, not true history." Kim Yang Sun, **History of the Korean Church in the Ten Years since Liberation (1945-1955)** (Seoul: The Religious Education Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Korea, 1956), pp. 106-107; Harvie Conn, "Studies in the Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church," **Westminster Theological Journal,** No. 29, (May 1967), p. 139.

16. A Declaration by the Korea Mission of PCUSA in Annual Meeting 1 July 1926 at Seoul, Korea.

17. Alfred W. Wasson, **Church Growth in Korea 1895-1961** (London: SCM Press, 1966), p. 146; Edmund Brunner, "Rural Korea," **The Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council,** Vol. VI (New York: International Missionary Council, 1928), pp. 84-172.

18. Edmund Brunner, "Rural Korea," pp. 105-106.

19. **Ibid.**, pp. 111, 119.

21. **Ibid.**, pp. 150-170.

22. Harry Rhodes, **History of the Korean Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the USA 1884-1934** (Seoul: YMCA Press, 1934), p. 169; Report of Pyeongyang Station, 1925-1926 (typewritten), pp. 3-4.

23. Federal Council of Protestant Missions in Korea, **Minutes,** 1926, p. 12.

24. Federal Council of Protestant Missions in Korea, **Minutes,** 1927, p. 20.

25. Edmund Brunner, "Rural Korea," p. 128.

26. **Ibid.**, pp. 238-239.

27. Kim Jae Joon, "What Theologians and Books Did Most to Shape My Mind?" in **Christian Thought** (July 1964). Quoted in Harvie Conn, "Studies in the Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church," **Westminster Theological Journal,** 29 (May 1967): 144-151.

28. S. A. Moffett to J. D. Jeffrey, 2 November 1927.

29. In "The View of Immortality as Revealed in the Book of Job" appeared in **Theological Review,** No. 15 (March 1933), Kim said, "The only reality of life is the life of this world." In "A Study of Immanuel Passage in Isaiah," in **Theological Review,** No. 16 (January 1934), Kim also contended that the original purpose of the passage was not to refer to Jesus Christ and that this was a later meaning placed on it by the New Testament writer.

30. Kim Jae Joon, "Theological Thought and Theological Education," **Christian Thought** (April 1965), p. 16-17.

31. Pak Hyung Nong, "Liberalism in the Korean Church," **Theological Review,** No. 31 (September 1964), pp. 8-9. Quoted in Harvie Conn, "Studies in the Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church," p. 149.

32. "Laymen's Missions Inquiry as Appraised by Presbyterian Missionaries of Korea," **Christianity Today,** No. 4 (Mid-August, 1933), p. 2.

33. "Evangelical Fellowship of Korea," **Christianity Today,** No. 2, (Mid-February 1932), p. 23.

34. **Ibid.**

35. "Laymen's Missions Inquiry As Appraised by Presbyterian Missionaries of Korea," **Christianity Today,** Vol. 4, No. 4 (August 1933), p. 2.

36. "Boord of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America Report of the Executive Meeting of the Korea Mission, PCUSA," 1933, pp. 56-57.

37. Harvie Conn, p. 143.

38. S.A. Moffett, "Fifty Years of Missionary Life in Korea," in **The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration af the Korean Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.** (Seoul: YMCA Press, 1934), p. 40.

39. Kim Yang Sun, **History of the Korean Church,** (Korean) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971), pp. 178-185.

40. Harry Rhodes, **History of the Korea Mission PCUSA II, 1935-1959** (New York: Board of Foreign Mission PCUSA, 1964), pp. 209-210. Ray Shearer, "The Evangelistic Missionary's Role in Church Growth in Korea," **International Review of Missions,** 54 (October 1965): 467-468.

41. Bruce Hunt, "Korea Letter," **Christianity Today** No. 7 (December 1934): 175.

42. George Thompson Brown, in **Mission to Korea** (Atlanta: Boord of World Mission, PCUS, 1962), said that, "The Northern party labeled those from the South 'Modernistic'. " p. 148.

43. S. A. Moffett, D. M. McRae, W. F. Bull and F. J. L. Macrae to the Secretaries of the Presbyterian and United Church of Canada Missions, 24 October 1934, from Seoul, PHSRG.

44. **Ibid.** Those four were S. A. Moffett of PCUSA, D. M. McRae of the United Church of Canada, W. F. Bull of the PCUS and F. J. L. Macrae of the [illegible]

46. Program sheet of Chunju Retreat shows: Lectures: The Person and Work of Christ—For Church, In Church and Through Church; Responsibilities of the Church Leaders—to the Lord, to the Flock and to the Church; Bible Study in Ephesians; Morning devotions for pitfalls for Church Leaders; Afternoon discussions of church problems: (1) Ourselves personally, (2) Division in the Church, (3) Nationalism, Politics, and Shrine Question. Deposited in the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

47. Bruce Hunt, "Korea Letter," p. 227.

48. Moffett, J. E. Holdcroft (PCUSA), W. F. Bull, J. C. Crone (PCUS), D. M. McRae, A. F. Raff (Canadian) and F. J. L. Macrae and F. W. Cunningham (Australian) to "Dear Friends," 10 March 1935, PHSRG.

49. Quoted in "Statement from Seoul Station as to its attitude on the action of the Seoul Presbytery" issued on 11 December 1934, PHSRG.

50. Moffett, et al., to "Dear Friends," 10 March 1935.

51. L. T. Newland, "The Chunju Retreat," **The Presbyterian Survey**, Vol. 25 No. 10 (October 1935), p. 611.

52. **Ibid.**

53. S. A. Moffett, Personal Report (to Board of Foreign Missions), June 1936. Deposited in the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

54. William B. Hunt, "Letter from Korea," **Christianity Today**, Vol. 6, No. 10 (March 1936), p. 238.

55. Harvie Conn, "Studies in the Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church," Part II, **Westminster Theologieal Journal**, 29 (May 1967): 156; General Editor of the Abington Bible commentary, David G. Downey, indicated the critical and scientific character of the commentary in the Foreword that it "utilizes the rich treasures of present-day biblical scholarship for practical and evangelical purposes. Many questions concerning the Scriptures which were once hotly debated are now generally regarded as settled. The commentary is written from the standpoint of these accepted results." **The Abington Bible Commentary**, ed. by Frederick C. Eiselen (New York: The Abington Press, 1929), iii.

56. Pak Hyung Nong, "Liberalism in the Korean Church," **Theologieal Review**, Vol. 31, No. 1 (September 1964), p. 10.

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59. S.A. Moffett, in the Preface to **The Standard Bible Commentary on Mark** by Charles A. Clark (Seoul: Religious Education Department, Korean Presbyterian Church, 1957). Quoted in Harvie Conn, "Studies in Theology of the Korean Presbyterian Church," **Westminster Theological Journal**, 29 (November, 1966), pp. 36-37.

60. **Manual of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA**, 1927, pp. 5-6.

61. **Constitiution of Presbyterian Church in Korea**, 1907; S. A. Moffett to A. J. Brown, 11 April 1921. Deposited in the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

62. C. A. Clark, **The Nevius Plan for Mission Work**, 2nd ed., (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1937), p. 196.

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71. Chae Pil Keun, **Rev. Hon Suk Chin and His Era** (Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1971), pp. 258-259.

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79. S. I. Proctor, "Devolution in Korea Missions," **Missionary Review of the World**, No. 39 (November 1926), p. 905.

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81. **Ibid.**, p. 185.

82. Alfred W. Wasson, "Observations on the Mott Conference, Seoul, December 28-29, 1925," **Koreo Mission Field**, No. 22 (February 1926), pp. 31-32. Wasson indicated that Korean delegates emphasized the following seven points: 1) better living conditions for the Korean people; 2) salvation of the young people of the church; 3) a better understonding and closer cooperotion between missionaries and Korean workers; 4) a broader program and simplified methods of church work; 5) a union of the Christian forces in Korea; 6) o clear statement of essential Christianity; and 7) the removal of the handicap which evils in nominally Christian lands place upon Christianity.

83. **Ibid.**, p. 32.

84. Chae Pil Keun, **Rev. Han Suk Chin and His Era**, (Koreon) (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971), pp. 228-231.

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88. Frank Smith to Sidney Gulick, 19 October 1919. Deposited in the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

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90. Hans-Reudi Weber, **Asia and the Ecumenical Movement 1885-1961** (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1966), p. 131.

91. The Alliance of Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System, **Proceedings of the Eleventh General Council** held at Pittsburgh, 1921. (Edinburgh: Allionce Office, 1922), p. 285. Lim's address found on pp. 286-290.

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93. The four delegates were Helen Kim, Dean of Ewha Women's College; Ryang Joo Sam, Chairman of NCC Korea; Hugh H. Cynn, Methodist layman and General Secretary of the YMCA of Korea; and William A. Noble, District Superintendent of Methodist Episcopal Church. For their contributions, see respectively Jerusalem Meeting of International Council, Vol. I, p. 304, Vol. III, p. 119, Vol. III, p. 124, and Vol. VI, pp. 236-238.

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101. "Findings of Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the Chosen Mission of the PCUSA," Korea Mission Field, No. 32 (August 1934), pp. 177-178.

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111. Harry Rhodes and Archibald Campbell. ed., History of Korea Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the USA 1935-1959 (New York: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations. The United Presbyterian Church in the USA, 1964), p. 8.

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117. Archibald Campbell, "Korea Letter," Christianity Today, Vol. 7 No. 8 (December 1936), pp. 193-194; William N. Blair, Gold in Korea, pp. 100-101.

118. Archibald Campbell, "Korea Letter," p. 194.

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120. Ibid.

121. Korea Mission Field shows that Moffett returned to the U.S. for about five months in 1936. Korea Mission Field, 32 (October 1936): 222.

122. Dr. Samuel A. Moffett: A Biography, p. 378. The last son was with the parents in Korea attending secondary school there.

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